Bulgaria EE1
Yugoslavia EF1
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/For each end plate illustrating house plans in source 9:Megas, the author lists his sources of information in an appendix. See 9:Megas, EH1 Greece, category 116, pp. 120-134./

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● 342

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/For the special terminological usage of "cylindrical tiles" in house construction, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, p. 87./

/For information on the construction and form of houses, yards and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 66-70, passim and 86J, 86L-86M./

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Albania EG1 •
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For general information on houses and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 79-86./

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The large uncarved wooden crosses in most of the graveyards of Dukagini and Pulati (Fig. 9) show at the ends of the arms either (1) a sun and crescent, (2) a sun alone, or (3) a sun with two notches below it—a transition form in which the carpenter has forgotten what the crescent is and merely chopped notches. The sun-wheel forms the back and the crescent and sun the ends of the arms of the typical wooden arm-chair in which the house-lord sits. Such chairs were used by all the tribes, but are now chiefly found in the further Dukagini tribes. The chip-carved distaffs of the women show the cross frequently; but chip-carving does not lend itself to curves, and the moon appears as an angle on which the cross stands. Some distaffs, however, suggest that their complicated designs are based on rayed curves, though they are now angular.

The cross and rayed sun are also traceable on many of the elaborately knitted socks. Here, owing to the exigencies of the material, the sun is square, but the rays are duly shown.

A rayed sun is part of the elaborate design embroidered on the scarlet cloak of the married Catholic women of Scutari. Of this design, which with variations consists always of similar elements, I have failed to find an explanation. "It must be some old story which we have forgotten," say the embroiderers, who are always men. The sun, an ear of wheat (? feather), a flowering plant, the dove and the serpent always appear. It is given to the bride by the bridegroom on her wedding-day. The sun, the wheat, and the flowers suggest fertility. And the facts that the serpent and dove were symbols of the mother goddess worshipped at Knossos, and that bird and serpent played an important part in Egyptian mythology, show that the origin of this Albanian pattern is, indeed, so old that it is no wonder the embroiderers have forgotten it (Figs. 10 and 11).

The sun and moon were firmly established as symbols in the Balkans long before the Turk arrived. I think that probably the Turkish crescent and star is really the rayed sun and moon, the sun being diminished so as to fit decoratively within the crescent.

On the wall of a house at Vuthaj, when the district was wholly Moslem and almost closed to outsiders, I saw, in 1908, a large rayed sun painted with a slim crescent beside it (Fig. 12, No. 10). More striking yet was the emblem at that time placed over the gate of the Turkish Konak at Prizren. It was a large wooden sun with long rays of unequal length. At the tip of each ray was a small wooden crescent. At this time there was huge excitement over the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, and I was warned neither to draw nor photograph anything in public. I made, therefore, only a memory sketch (Fig. 12, No. 9), but it gives a correct idea of this curious sign, which, as the

[Text continues on p. 129]

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 AlbaniaEG1

leries and the long proportions of the buildings, and the rich-hued tiles of the roof combined to make a unique harmony of color design. However, these cells have been uninhabited for some time, as the Orthodox monks have almost died out in Albania, and the monastery is now under the jurisdiction of a priest; but in due respect to their former occupants the wives of the priests do not go beyond the threshold of this old monument sacred to the memory of the devout ones who dwelt therein. To-day most of the cells are tenanted by the servants and aged dependents of the monastery, also, a modern comfortable guest-house is maintained for the use of visitors.

The remains of the saint are placed in the chapel, where the faithful peasants, on the days of pilgrimage and exposition in early September, make wild efforts to get close enough to place a handkerchief or scarf on the coffin and to preserve these in case of illness, at which time, if worn, are believed to possess healing powers, especially against malaria and other fevers.

Returning to the highroad one soon arrives at Bradshesh, where the peculiarity in the

342 dwellings immediately enables one to make the distinction between the natives of this district. The comfortable handsome stone houses, with large galleries on the upper stories before the living rooms and the stables below, denote the typical Albanian peasant homes. And in the immediate vicinity, the small reed huts tenanted by the gypsies.

5.3 There are two kinds of gypsies in this in-
197 teresting country: one is the same as the
140 English variety, speaking the quaint old
191 Romany, although knowing at the same time the language of the country. This branch of gypsies is the eternal wanderer, constantly moving from one district to another, pitching their temporary tents wheresoever they will.
143 Their keenest interest is in horses and they live by their tradings and quite often entirely by their wits. The other kind of gypsies is those, who, having forgotten almost all of their Romany, speak only Albanian, and a little Turkish where they are old enough to have experienced the Turkish occupation of Albania. Essentially lazy, these broken-up
533 tribes live mostly in the towns, gaining their
535 daily bread in the simplest and most conven-
563 ient way possible for them: singing and danc-

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

648 All foreign legations, except that of Great Britain, are located in Tirana. The British Legation is in Durazzo (Durrës).

366 To an eager tourist Tirana's allure will lie in the bazaars located in the side streets away from the center of the city, where craftsmen have plied their trades for centuries. Side by side are the shops of the silver- and gold-smiths and the displays of pottery, tapestry, and the laces and skillful handwork of the Albanian women will catch the feminine eye.

363 Those who never tire of the unique and intriguing will be swept along through a maze of streets that have nothing in common with the progressive edifices in the modern section of Tirana. Through these narrow streets which offer every form of merchandise in its own interesting way, the explorer will come

342 on the outskirts of the city to the small huts of peasants, made of sun-baked bricks of surprising endurance surrounded by the usual fence or wall, and here one touches a life that is different—prompted by traditions and cultures that have come down from person to person, perhaps from the days when modern progress was not even a dream.

346 Among the numerous other sights not to be missed in Tirana are the Mosque of Suleiman

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Durazzo Beach

529 ALONG the crystal-white sands of the beach and on to the opposite end of the bay, are comfortable villas not more than fifty yards from the water. The last villa in this scattered row belongs to the King of the Albanians.

Looking from the far end of the beach towards Durazzo, one is faced with a view that contains more color than the Entrance of the Bay at Naples. There is the same rich blue of the water and its reflection in the vast, blue vault of the heavens, the various startlingly vivid colors of the town with two or three slender, graceful spires rearing their gold-tipped heads upward and here the resemblance ends; Naples has no more; but Durazzo presents a picture nestled into the olive-green and brownness of the surrounding mountains —like a rare and priceless opal placed on a piece of half-blue and tawny velvet.

• 342 The villas are built comfortably of stucco and native stone and are very light and airy. It will completely astonish some to learn that

342 these five and six room villas can be built for, including the price of the land, from $800.00 to $1,500.00 and live as comfortably as in a city with much more offered them; and strange as it may seem, there are only about a dozen villas, most of them belonging to government officials, along this ideal beach, with its white, clean sand and the cool waters of
529 the Adriatic. Nothing is more enviable than to see these people on a hot morning taking a cool, refreshing "dip" before breakfast and to walk back—fifty yards—to their front porches for a delicious meal—taking life easily and leisurely and enjoying it to the fullest. For those who work all winter in a close office, the warm, healing air of the Adriatic is as a rebirth. And for those who are more inclined to mountain-climbing, they have only to walk about a half mile and begin the long, steady climb up to the summits of the Albanian mountains and they shall be rewarded with views that are indescribable. These great hills are covered with rich olive and fig trees and in the spring are complete blankets of irises. These dainty little flowers the natives bring down and plant before their villas, or in boxes for ornamentation. For the artist,

[Errata: should be one can live, Cf. Errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 269 —Analyst]

Korcha

361
438 ORÇA (sometimes referred to as Korcha and also as Koritsa) is the central terminus for Albania. It lies in one of the most fertile plains of Central Albania which is under intense cultivation. This causes Korça to be rich industrially for here are located three tobacco factories, a large sawmill and an alcohol factory. Near Korça are rich coal mines, vineyards, and so forth.

Several of the principal roads connecting Albania with Yugoslavia on the north and with Greece on the south and east meet here. To this valued and fortunate location Korça owes her importance and her development into an exceedingly up-to-date center for trade and traffic which enables her to transport materials of all kinds to and from all parts of the country.

The King Pyrrhus, of historic renown, was born in this district in which the city of Korça now stands.

• 342 Each home in Korça is surrounded by a garden enclosed with a wall made of light-colored stones, giving the residences an appearance of wealth.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

famous of these chieftains were Kara Mohammed of Scutari, and Ali Pasha of Ioannina. The former, at the end of the last century, aimed at an independent sovereignty, which his son, Mustapha Pasha, asserted in open rebellion in 1831; and the latter, notwithstanding the frightful cruelties of which he was guilty, still lives in tale and song as the mighty upholder of Albanian independence against Ottoman tyranny. Subsequent risings have, however, resulted only in the death or banishment of the most influential members of leading families, the last *coup d'état* of this description having been carried out at Prisrend and Uskup in 1881. The great landholders are now all Moslems, the property of which the Christian proprietors were despoiled at the end of last century by Ali Pasha having, on his death, been appropriated by the Sultan.

But, whether Christian or Moslem, each section of the Albanian nation has its own traditional laws and usages by which their social life is alone regulated. The Miridites claim to have received theirs from the Dukadjini princes, who, according to them, were the ancestors of their own chieftains. Their internal government is a species of aristocratic republic, all matters affecting the community being decided in council by the chiefs, the elders, and other hereditary functionaries.

The dwellings of the Albanians are quite in keeping with the character and mode of life of their occupants. Even at Ioannina, where the customs more closely approximate to those of the Greeks, the houses have a gloomy appearance from without, being shut in by

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

big courtyard gates, and having no windows to the street on the ground floor. Like all Oriental houses, they are only of two stories; the upper, which contains the living rooms of the family, being reached by an outside wooden staircase under cover of the broad pent of the roof projecting over the landing or gallery on which all the rooms open.

In more remote towns, such as Prisrend or Skodra, the streets look dreary and deserted in the extreme, besides being extremely narrow and ill-paved, if paved at all, and the bazaars and shops are exceedingly mean and poor. The furniture consists chiefly of a low divan with very hard cushions, a few chairs and a mirror, and the lime-washed walls are sometimes decorated with a dado representing a landscape, executed in the crudest possible style chiefly in one colour. A shelf often runs round the walls to hold the copper *ibriks* and other utensils, and above it are hung the rich assortment of arms which is the pride of every family.

In the mountain districts the houses of the beys are complete fortresses, being surrounded by high walls pierced with loopholes for musketry. Only in times of open hostility, however, is it necessary to take any precautions against possible foes, for an Albanian's notion of honour does not allow him to slay a man in his own house, deadly as may be his feud with him. The villages of these districts are generally remote from each other, perched in high and inaccessible situations. The furniture of the cottages is limited to a few mats and rugs, a *sofra*, the low stand on which meals are served in Turkish

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

539 returned to the king, who, on seeing them, was quite overjoyed, and gave a splendid feast in their honour.

This is the end of the story.

[538] The following comic story is a good illustration of the adage, "Set a thief to catch a thief."

Mosko and Tosko.

There were once two brothers, who were robbers by trade, and they had a sister for whom they had long sought a husband of their own quality. Years passed, and one fine day they met on the road a man whom they asked, "Where goest thou? Wilt thou join us, and have our sister for thy wife? We will give her to thee, for we have long wanted a husband for her."

"Done," said the other, "and that shall not prevent our being comrades." So they gave him their sister.

One day, as they had not seen their sister for some time, Mosko and Tosko went to pay her a visit. The husband happened to be absent, having gone to the mill. You must know, however, that there was some [251] *pastourma*[1] hanging in the loft.[2] Arrived in the house, Mosko said to his sister: "My dear sister, give me some water." She went to fetch the water-barrel, and gave it to him. After having drunk, Mosko asked Tosko if he were not likewise thirsty. "Yes," he replied, and his brother passed him the barrel. Then Mosko said to Tosko:

[1] Smoke-dried meat.

[342] [2] *Tavan*, the space between the uncelled rafters of a cottage and the roof.

PEAKS OF SHALA

embroidery. These were really separate linings to the stiff and hard opangi, which had to be soaked a long time in water and put on wet, in order to get them on at all.

Very conscious of my feet, which seemed large and unwieldy flopping objects at the ends of my legs, I went across the flat, wet fields with Perolli to drink coffee in the house of Lulash.†

The house of Lulash was different from any of the others we had seen. It stood on a castlelike rock; we went up to it by a stairway cut in the side of a cliff that rose almost sheer for so far that the waterfall pouring down it looked like a motionless streak of snow near the top. A natural bridge of rock crossed the little space between the cliff and the rock on which the house of Lulash was built; a furious little stream roared beneath us as we crossed the bridge, and then there was another stairway leading up to the house.

Lulash and a dozen men and women of his household stood outside his door to receive us. No rifles were fired. We passed through a double line of salutes and greetings and into a high-arched stone doorway. There was a little hall, floored and walled with stone, and a massive stone stair leading upward. This we climbed, and were in a large whitewashed room, lighted by a window and furnished with beautifully painted chests and a few hand-woven rugs. But this was not the only room; there were others, and, leading us through several arched stone

† [tribal chief in The Pass -- Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

pile of folded blankets before the fire, not yet sure that I was not dreaming and that the strange chests and stranger figures of turbaned men and barbarically dressed barefooted women would not vanish when I awoke.

"I did not think," said Lulash, "that any of our houses would be as fine as an American house." He was so pleased that his hand quivered a little on the long handle of the tiny brass pot in which he was making the coffee. So I told them that only our finest houses are of stone, that my house was of wood, and much smaller than his. But all our houses had windows, I said.

"Yes," said Lulash, wistfully "Windows are very good; I always wish that all our houses had windows. But first we must have a *besa* of peace among all the tribes; it is not safe now to have windows, a man never knows when his tribe will be 'in blood' and enemies will shoot him through windows. You see that mine are so placed that it would be difficult to shoot through them, and I have heavy shutters for closing them at night, when the firelight makes it easier to see us from outside."

But he was pleased that I praised his windows; he had gone through many other tribes and down into Scutari to bring up the glass of which he had heard, and made them with his own hands. They were on leather hinges so that they would open and let in the air; he said he had observed that sunshine and air were good things.

PEAKS OF SHALA

342 and, if good outdoors, why not good in houses?
619 "But it will be a long time before my people can have windows," he said, sadly.

He did not think it was good to keep the sheep and goats with the family, either; all his flocks were driven at night into their own quarters, on the lower floor of the house.

000 Houses are the most endless subject in the world; all of humanity and its history is expressed in houses, and while the coffee cup was passed back and forth I told about American houses; about the log cabins of the pioneers, such a little time ago as crude as those of the Albanians; about the loophole glassless windows, and the pegs on which rifles were hung; and about farmers' houses in New England, where the cattle live under the same roof, at the end of long sheds; and suburban houses with gardens, and apartment houses where whole tribes of people live, going up and down in movable rooms. And then I spoke about water power and said that it became electricity—Lulash asked me eagerly how it was done, but I did not know—and that brought us to the whole subject of machinery. I drew a picture of a spinning wheel for them and explained it, but they said it would not be practicable on the trails, where the women did most of the spinning; a woman could not carry her baby in its cradle and a spinning wheel, too; the spindle was better; and I agreed with them. But if men and women did not work so hard carrying water from the springs, they would

PEAKS OF SHALA

river. From time to time we struggled through a waterfall, and there was one huge torrent that, leaping from a cliff above the trail, arched over it in a curve that seemed solid as glass, and we passed beneath it. Then, descending, we came to the little valley of upper Thethis. Perhaps six or ten houses were scattered there, among broken-off fragments of cliff as large as they, and between them all the level land was glistening with water at the grass roots.

[342] The house of Sadiri Luka was notable for its stone-walled courtyard and its broad balcony. The heavy arch of the gateway was mediæval in its grim solidity; we escaped from the rain to the peace of its shelter, and there were welcomed [291] by Sadiri Luka. He was middle-aged, sturdy, even a little stodgy of figure, among the lithe mountaineers, and this appearance suggested the successful business man—a suggestion incongruous with his picturesque clothes. His trousers were the purest white that new wool can be, his fringed jacket the densest black, the colors of his sash were clear and gay, and his silver chains were massive. There was even a heavy silver ring on his finger. And there was no rifle on his back.

The courtyard was a litter of cornstalks, almost entirely covered with a roof of woven branches; evidently it was the home of flocks now out in the rain attended by a shepherd cutting leaves for them. An arched doorway opened into the first floor of the house, where we saw a pensive donkey gazing profound[168]ly upon the liquid gray weather -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 trembling like a convalescent, but with fever gone and my lungs merely aching. I suggest the remedy for what it is worth.

[417] The byraktor received us at his gateway, for his house was surrounded by a high fence, almost a stockade, of woven branches. He was a tall, keen, quick man; bright, dark eyes and aquiline nose and thin, flexible lips, framed by the white turban's fold beneath his chin; a jacket of black sheep's wool; one massive jeweled silver chain on his breast. His swift smile was warm and beautiful, but one had a sense of reservations behind it; he welcomed the audacious Shala man without a quiver, and ushered us up the stone steps to the second floor of his house.

[342] There were several rooms, divided from the main large one by partitions of woven willow boughs, and from the large room a high, arched doorway in the stone wall led into farther regions.

592 At least forty men and women and children—five generations—were around the fire on the floor. There was a little flurry of welcome and rearrangement, and in a moment we were in the center of the circle, sitting on thick mats of woven straw, while the byraktor made our coffee in the coals.

[304] The women were beautifully dressed; I had not seen so much elegance of embroidery, of colored headkerchiefs, earrings, and chains of silver and gold coins. Their dark, beautifully modeled faces, large dark eyes, and heavy braids of black hair were set off by the profusion of rich

[House of warchef of Shoshi-] 252 [Analyst]

POSTSCRIPT

[492] winding road to Shijak, the village by the river
491 where the bridge begins and ends in willow groves.

Beyond Shijak the road goes over the last low
[133] hill, and twenty miles of plain lie before it, most sparsely dotted with the great white houses of the beys of central Albania. Against the eastern sky the towering mountains, with their eternal smoke of clouds, catch the last rays of the sun and make magic with it. For an hour the colors shift and change, plum purple, orange gold, mauve and violet and sea green, until at last only a pale gold moon and a silvery star shine in a lemon-yellow sky. And the seven white minarets of Tirana lift above the green of trees.

342 Dusk was on the plain, and lights were glimmering through little houses here and there, when we came to Tirana. No, the lights do not glimmer through windows; these houses of peasants on the great estates have no windows, as they have no chimneys. The light of the evening fire, built on the earthen floor, shines through walls woven of willow withes, and the smoke seeps through thatched roofs.

373 Before us twinkled the street lamps of Tirana. These are literally lamps, filled every day with kerosene and set on their poles, to be lighted with a match after the evening call to prayer from the minarets. Our little car passed between low, ghostly white walls, and stopped before the gendarmerie. An officer came out, lifted one of the street lamps from its pole and held it over the car door, the better to see us.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

574 storied house, where a score of Zogist guerillas were gathered
[342] round the fire. The room was filled with smoke — for the house had no chimney, like many in Albania — and it was several minutes before I could see or breathe in comfort. I sat down, however, by the hearth, where a carpet had been spread, and while the evening meal was made ready had some talk with Petrit. He spoke quite good French, having studied in the French *lycée* at Korcha, where, by a strange irony, Enver Hoja had been his teacher. He was obviously eager for news of the outside world, and the flow of his questions was only restrained by his sense of courtesy as my host. In appearance he was not unlike his father, though of sturdier build and more slothful movements; and I was told that he had already distinguished himself in the previous autumn's fighting. He was possessed besides of a natural authority, and, despite his youth, seemed to command the respect of the wild mountaineers who accompanied him. Some of these spoke a little Italian or Serb, and their discussions that night gave me a first impression of
[521] Zogist public opinion. The Ghegs are not great talkers like the Greeks or Slavs, but I felt, from what they said, that they were rather suspicious of British intentions and far more concerned with preventing the spread of Communism in Albania than with fighting the Germans. Towards one o'clock
[262] our conversation was interrupted by the arrival of the evening meal of soup, boiled mutton and cheese. We ate in silence
[513] and as soon as we had finished I retired to rest on one of the mattresses which the master of the house had spread for us on the floor.

342 Next day, in the afternoon, Petrit accompanied me to the place where Abas Kupi had made his temporary headquarters. It was a grey stone keep, built on a jutting rib of the mountain range and approached by a path so narrow and precipitous that I had to send back my horse and make the last stage of the journey on foot. Abas Kupi came out to meet me, as I turned
[516] into the walled courtyard of the house, and welcomed me with the traditional greeting of "*Tungjatjeta*" — "May your life be prolonged". He led the way up a flight of wooden steps, resting like a ladder against the wall of the house, and took

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

me by the hand into a dark and dusty room, hung with rifles and submachine-guns. It was thronged with Zogist notables and their bodyguards: wild and rugged men, corrugated with cartridge-belts, and festooned with pistols, daggers, and hand-grenades. Most of them were dressed in black, baggy Turkish breeches, braided homespun jackets of black or brown, with multicoloured sashes wound about their waists, and white fezes or skull-caps on their heads. A few besides were in uniform retained from the time of their service in the Albanian army, or looted from the Italians; while others, especially the leaders, wore tweed or leather jackets, variously combined with local or military costume.

We sat down, Turkish fashion, by the fire; and, while we drank coffee and exchanged greetings, the guerillas milled around, or sat together in small groups, whispering intently. To a stranger this whispering seemed sinister and blatantly conspiratorial, but the others took no offence at it. Necessity indeed imposed a communal way of life on the guerillas; each man was watched by his fellows in his every movement, and it was only by whispering that any privacy of discussion could be preserved.

I had been there perhaps half an hour when, at a sign from Abas Kupi, the guerillas filed out of the room, and we remained alone with Shaqir, my interpreter, and Colonel Murad Basha. Basha had been a regular officer under King Zog and had joined Abas Kupi in Belgrade in 1940. He was now the Zogist Chief-of-Staff, but struck me from the first as pedantic and too quick to see the difficulties in any scheme. He was indeed to prove a defeatist influence at the Zogist Headquarters, for, though personally no coward, he was terrified of action, like so many senior officers who have won their spurs on the square rather than in the field.

I began our discussions by showing Abas Kupi my credentials: these were a letter from Stirling, who had been his friend, and a *besa* given me by King Zog. This was a covenant enjoining upon all Albanians the duty of protecting my life and, should their zeal prove unavailing, of avenging my death. My *bona fides* thus established I recalled our meeting in Belgrade

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

[727] XXII Mountain Corps, whose Headquarters were at Yannina. The Kossovo was independently garrisoned, mainly by the German-officered Albanian division, S.S. Skanderbeg. The *669 Partisans, who now formed the chief Albanian resistance movement, were reported to have nearly fifteen thousand men under arms. Except, however, for insignificant groups these were all among the Tosks, south of the river Shkumbi. The Ballist forces were also concentrated in the South and about Tirana, but were now reduced to little more than five thousand men. We were thus tolerably informed of the numbers and circumstances of our German enemies and Partisan allies, but knew almost nothing of the military potentialities of the Zogist movement in particular, or of the Ghegs in general. Maclean and I therefore set out on 3rd May to join Abas Kupi and study conditions in Mati and Kruya for ourselves. Meanwhile Smiley and Hare remained at base to reconnoitre the precise dispositions of the Germans and to take soundings of opinion in Tirana.

● [342] Abas Kupi and his staff had assembled in the fortress home of Tsen Lezi,[1] set in a cleft in the mountains high above the Mati valley. We joined him there about nightfall and found [352] the Zogist leaders seated round the hearth at the end of a long and narrow hall, lit only by the flames of the fire. The skins of sheep and goats were spread out on the floor as carpets, and the walls and rude crossbeams which supported the roof were black and shiny with soot. So must have been the keep of Dunsinane. Tsen Lezi, the master of the house, was wild and woolly like an aged bear, and grunted as he ambled out to greet us. His eyes were small and bright; his bushy moustache sprouted in all directions; and his clothes were brown and furry, homespun from the shearings of his sheep. 596 He ruled sternly over his family, or clan, for there were more than sixty of them living in the house, and directed every detail of dynastic policy: what land or livestock should be bought or sold, which of the children should be sent to school, what marriages should be made, what blood feuds prosecuted

[1] A Mati chieftain, not to be confused with the Dibran leader, Tsen Elezi.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Their houses,[1] varied in size and architecture with the wealth of the owners; but all were essentially built for defence. As a rule, they were so situated as to command a good field of fire over their chief approaches, and were often surrounded by walled courtyards entered through heavy, wooden gates studded with iron. For the most part they were of wood and stone, sometimes whitewashed, and consisted of two stories, joined by a narrow indoor staircase, or by a flight of wooden steps on the outside. The ground floor was the cattle and the women's quarters; above was the guest-room. This guest-room was the centre of the life of the house, and, except for a stout chest in which the valuables of the family were stored, was altogether empty of furniture. At one end of it was the open hearth from which the smoke escaped through chinks in the wall or, in statelier mansions, through a chimney. Narrow windows, usually without panes, served as a means of ventilation or, on occasion, as rifle slits; but so dim was the light which they diffused that it was often difficult to read indoors, even at midday. At night the room would be lit by the glow of the fire, or sometimes by oil lamps or pinewood torches.

On entering a house we,[2] would take off our boots and give up our rifles to the host, though retaining our side arms. As foreigners, we would then be led to the place of honour, which is on the right-hand side of the hearth, next to the wall. Abas Kupi would sit with us, or take the left-hand side, and the rest of the company, including bodyguards and orderlies, assembled in a horse shoe round the fire. The youngest sat at the apex of the horse shoe, and, since there were often a score of us, the evening would begin with much show of "Friend go up higher". We sat on carpets or sheepskin rugs, cross-legged or reclining against our saddle-bags. When all were seated, the host rolled cigarettes, which only non-smokers might refuse, and tossed them with unfailing accuracy to each guest. Presently a warm drink would be served, usually coffee, though in the poorer houses sweetened or salted milk was often brought instead. As outlaws we sought to keep our movements secret and our arrival was, as a rule, the first warning of our visit which the host received. Custom demanded that he serve us

[1] [i.e. in the Mati valley -- Analyst]

[2] [British liaison officers in early 1944 -- Analyst]

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LIUMAN CHIEFTAINS

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MAIN GATEWAY OF MUHARREM BAIRAKTAR'S CASTLE, WITH SENTRY ON THE PARAPET

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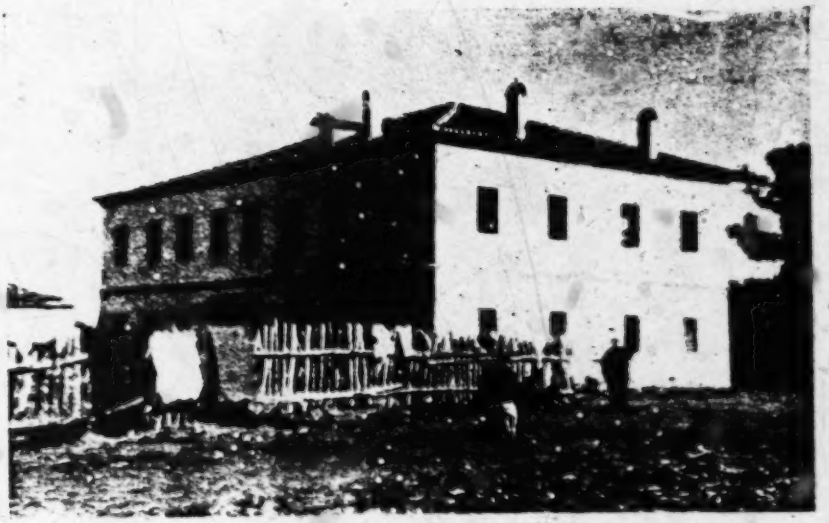

OUR LAST HEADQUARTERS A PROSPEROUS HOUSE)

000

THE BEACH WHERE WE EMBARKED
(MOUNT VELYES IN THE BACKGROUND)

[-308b-]

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CHAPTER III

THE ALBANIAN HOUSE

342 At its simplest an Albanian peasant's house was very simple indeed—no more than a small, square room with walls of undressed stones from the nearest stream; a man so poor had no money or time to spend on transporting better materials from a distance. The stones were bedded in mud and bound together every three feet or so by horizontal beams; in their turn the 'belts' were strengthened, particularly at the corners, by cross-timbers. The roof was a steep framework of timber covered with stone slabs but never with thatch or boards, for the house would stand no chance if an enemy flung a blazing firebrand on these. The doorway was low, but the wooden door, emblematic of the insecurity that lasted until Turkish rule ended, was strong enough not to be easily [344] broken down from outside. In most cases there was not even a hole in the wall for window, and there was never a chimney—a ring of stones in the middle kept the log-fire in its place, and the smoke found its own way out between the rafters unhampered by a ceiling. A kitchen-crook, a most important article, was suspended over the fire from a tie-beam. The floor was of beaten earth. In sum, the house was the most rudimentary type of stone and timber architecture.

352 415 The furnishings were in keeping. They consisted of a three-legged stool or two, a box or pile of bedding but no bedsteads, a rough shelf with a frying-pan and a few platters and pots, a big metal jug for boiling water, an earthenware pot for holding drinking water, a round dining-table on stumpy supports about ten inches high, a flour-bin, a pan for mixing bread, perhaps a pan for baking it, and nothing for washing—the nearest stream served for that. A metal tray with coffee cups inverted to keep them clean and a tiny pot with a long handle for making Turkish coffee rested by the hearth, a few satchels of home-dressed wool and a distaff hung on the wall, and a hen stared at the company from her nest under [353] the eaves. The only ornaments were yellow maize-cobs, rosy pomegranates, and strings of onions or garlic, all hanging from the 000 tie-beams. At meal times a cat took up a vantage point under the

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dining-table, to filch what it could. It was never caressed or deliberately fed; the whole Balkans believed that either indulgence would stop it from catching mice.

A man and his wife, with one or two small children, might live in this house. Of a kind hardly paralleled in the Balkans, except in the poorer parts of southern Greece, it was not common in Albania as a permanent dwelling. As soon as its master could scrape together the necessary money, he added a sitting-room. As he provided all the labour himself and needed to hire only one professional, a stone-mason who, like all his brethren in the Balkans, was also a carpenter, ten pounds sterling were enough. The sitting-room might be built on top of the kitchen (*shtëpí* or *shpi*, lit. 'house', from Lat. *hospitium*) or against one of its walls. It had a wooden floor, a chimney at one end, a window or two, a niche in the wall beside the hearth for the utensils for making coffee, and a few wooden pegs near the door on which to hang up rifles; it might also have a ceiling. It generally had a separate entrance, for sitting-rooms were men's apartments and Catholic, Moslem, and Orthodox Albanians all segregated their young women. The Catholics and Orthodox attributed this custom to plain jealousy, and the Moslems, less convincingly, to a desire to obey their Prophet's order. In the evening and when not at work outside during the daytime, the master of the house with his men guests reclined, ate and smoked in the sitting-room, while his wife and children remained in the draughty kitchen. But the men were less comfortable than might have been expected. Since Albanian chimneys seldom drew, acrid fumes from the wood fire filled the room and almost made them weep unmanly tears. But not quite, for if they succumbed, they would be derided as 'poor sticks' who 'would never see to shoot'.

Guests, in the form of family friends or strangers 'sent by God', often came for a night. Because there were no inns in the Albanian countryside except on the long-distance tracks used by pack-horses, it was the rule that a benighted stranger might claim supper and shelter till the morning from any house he saw. The hospitality was never refused or charged for, but travellers of standing were expected to give a sum proportionate not to the hospitality offered but to their supposed wealth.

As soon as the children in a two-roomed house grew up, its master must build again. His daughters went forth to live in their

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husbands' homes, but his sons brought their brides to his house and each couple required a separate bedroom. If he were very poor, he might be unable to provide anything better than a lean-to in the farmyard, but the average man built a proper house round the nucleus of sitting-room and kitchen. In the first of the two types to which this house might conform, a number of rooms were grouped together sideways, sometimes on one floor only, usually on two, but rarely on more. In the second type one room was built on top of another, as in a tower, for two, three or even four storeys. This type was always known as a *kullë* (lit. 'tower'), a description also often given to a two- or three-storeyed cluster, although, more usually, any clustered house was called *shtëpí*, the name of the original kitchen. Access to the upper floor in the clustered type was usually by an inner, fixed staircase, and in a tower by an inner ladder that could be pulled up if an enemy penetrated to the ground floor; a trapdoor hung over both staircase and ladder, ready to be closed in an instant, if necessary. The two types of house were found side by side. The clustered one was preferred because its rooms were easier of access, but a family with many enemies or little land fell back on a tower as it was more defensible and took up less space. Whereas a clustered house stood in a farmyard surrounded by a fence of withered thorn or, more frequently, a stone and timber wall of the same construction as that of the house, a tower had generally no farmyard. All its appurtenances—livestock, farm implements, hay or other fodder—were gathered under its own roof, on the ground floor, as being more secure. In a one-storeyed cluster livestock, farm implements, and probably dairy and kitchen as well, were housed in sheds in the yard to save space in the house. In a two-storeyed cluster they were more often accommodated on the ground floor as in a tower, but for convenience rather than security, which was guaranteed by the farmyard wall. Since the sitting-room in such a house was often over the cow-house, it contained an ingenious labour-saving device for use after supper. As soon as the table had been removed, the host swept the crumbs towards a small, unobtrusive hole in the floor in front of the hearth, removed its lid, and with a last flick of his broom dropped the crumbs on the animals below. In a tower the kitchen was over the cow-shed and under the bedrooms, and these in turn were under the men's sitting-room.

In a tower or a two-storeyed cluster there might, for security

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reasons, be no openings in the ground-floor walls except the doorway, but square holes were left in those of the upper floor for windows. Except in rich houses these 'windows' were not glazed. At night they were closed in rich as in poor houses by propping stone slabs against them or sliding wooden panels across them. Those in a one-storeyed cluster were usually too high for the curious outside to peep through or the hostile to shoot through. Nikollë Gjetë Coka of Breg i Matit, putting his trust in the exemplary peace which King Zog's government had established throughout Albania, neglected this ancient precaution and was shot in 1938 by some Mirdites who thrust their rifles through the window of the room in which he sat at supper. At the top of a tower there were usually loop-holes, splayed to give a wider field of fire and low enough to let a man kneel as he shot. When these were found in a clustered house, as they often were, it was naturally on a vulnerable side, where they might also be reinforced by turrets in the wall of the farmyard. In the kitchen, where the women and children must spend the day and evening, the hearth continued in the middle because more people could sit round it in that position.

In planning his house the Albanian householder sought chiefly shelter from the elements and his enemies, and took no thought for beauty. When villages are picturesque, as many are, it is always for such extraneous reasons as their site, the line of their roofs against a lightly clouded sky, and the greenery surrounding them, rather than for the architecture of their individual houses. A tower, it is true, may have machicoulis over its door or under an upper window, and these give it distinction; its elevation and its usual situation on a knoll may also be attractive. The best examples, some of them over two hundred years old, may be seen in Lurë. But few clustered houses are more than an assemblage of featureless boxes.

In the bigger houses the furnishings altered little from those of the simplest type already described. Mattresses and pillows were probably added to the bedding, and the floor of the sitting-room, instead of being left bare, was covered with mats made from reeds grown in the swamps near the coast. In the cold north and north-east there was usually a layer of earth under the mats; it made an admirable shield against winter blasts. Chairs remained rarities and stools were still confined to the kitchen with its chilly earthen floor. Workers being more plentiful, enough animals to make butter could be kept; the churn was made by hollowing out a section of tree-trunk.

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tree-trunk. A similar section, split lengthways and hollowed out, made two wash-tubs for laundry work. Toilet appliances, a basin and ewer bought in the bazaar, and paraffin lamps from the same source, completed the list of additions.

The above outline omits many small variations in Albanian houses and furniture as irrelevant to the main subject of this book. Mention must be made, however, of certain houses which differed widely from the average type. The first were found among the Highlanders (Alb. *Malësorë*, 'mountaineers'), the semi-nomads who wintered on the soggy plains at the mouth of the river Mat. These houses had walls of planking or wattle and daub, with roofs of tiles or strips of wood. They rested on vertical sections of tree trunks about two feet high which had been laid at close intervals on the ground but had not been driven into it like piles. In this way they kept snug and dry even during the winter floods. All over Albania granaries were raised some distance from the ground in order to keep out the rats, but so far as is known, there were no houses on stilts except at the mouth of the Mat.

A number of Highland houses also contained a child's play-pen which might be as little as twenty-five inches long, wide and high. A shallow porringer projected from one of the top bars, chipped from the same piece of wood as the bar itself. In this pen Highland children spent all their winter days from the time they could crawl until they were three years old. They had no toys, but practised walking round the pen, sometimes stopping to eat a little bread and milk from the porringer with the diminutive home-made, wooden spoon which was tied to the bar, or merely gazing broodingly at the fire. The mothers meanwhile cooked, spun or gossiped, each secure in the knowledge that her child was on the dry floor of the kitchen and not sitting outside in the quagmire of mud that reached up to the very doorstep. The Highlanders said they invented both the houses and the play-pen themselves, but it is possible that they were at least advised by the Austro-Hungarian troops who were stationed in the neighbourhood for part of the war of 1914–18.

In Shpat, near Elbasan, huts were built for many bridegrooms. In the higher villages trunks of young trees about as tall as a man's waist were planted in a rectangle of the size desired, their boughs, while still green and flexible, were laced in and out of these uprights, and cross-pieces of timber were nailed to the uprights

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to keep the structure rigid. When a light roof thatched with straw or more boughs had been nailed on and the inner walls had been plastered with mud, the hut was ready for occupation. Quickly built and costing only the price of the nails, it was often larger and more comfortable than the sitting-room in the adjacent house. A folk-tradition says it was long the handsomest dwelling to which any country Albanian aspired. At lower altitudes in Shpat the huts were flimsier as befitted the milder climate. They were usually made of reeds plastered with cow-dung, which was sufficient to keep out the wind.

Three houses of more splendid type, each containing about forty souls, exist at Dibër—Hysni Dema's at Homesh, Murat Kaloshi's at Kandër, and Cen Elézi's at Sllovë. The owners were rich and most hospitable Moslem notables. As some of the older generation were schooled in Constantinople, they complemented their culture and their position by building establishments of Turkish inspiration, with separate blocks of buildings for the men's apartments (Tk. *selamlik*), stables, granaries, storehouses, kitchens and women's apartments (Tk. *haremlik*). These are all enclosed within a high stone wall with defensive turrets at every weak point, especially near the one and only gateway. The women's apartments are really only a series of bedrooms, one for each married man and his wife and children, and the women, for want of a common sitting-room, sit normally in the kitchen like their poorer sisters. Softer mattresses, richer floor-rugs, and fireplaces in the bedrooms indicate the family's wealth, but European beds, tables and chairs are still barred, partly to avoid rousing envy in more backward neighbours. Cen Elezi's sitting-room was a magnificent oblong, warmed by a log-fire in a huge chimney at the far end from the door and softly lit on both its long sides by a row of short windows at the top of the tall walls; enemies outside had as usual to be prevented from shooting through the outer windows, and the men inside must not be able to look through the inner ones at the women's apartments. In this room a hundred travellers supped and slept every night, going their separate ways at dawn; a chef, working in a kitchen of his own and slaughtering a couple of sheep or an ox per night, provided the unvarying menu of soup, boiled meat, bread and rice pilaff. In their retired kitchen the women catered for themselves and the children, when there was no overflow from the chef's.

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342 423 685 A man's house, simple or elaborate, was his own, and he could do what he would with it up to a point. But he held it on conditions laid down by the Unwritten Law. This law defined a house as 'any hut or building of one, two, or more storeys that has a hearth and emits smoke', and insisted that poor house and rich house are alike inviolable. A stranger might not enter either without first hailing the master by name. If very discreet, he would call out from some distance; if bolder or on friendly terms with the family, he might lawfully enter the yard first. If no one answered his call, he must wait there or go away. On no account might he push the door open; that would make him a housebreaker. In the old days it would have cost him the usual penalties for theft, a fine of five hundred *grosh* ('piastres') for housebreaking, plus the obligation to send the family two of every article found missing after his visit, and even more recently it caused strife that might end in shooting. It was of no use for him to plead that he knew the master was from home; he knew also that somebody must have been left in the master's place.

[351] The law allowed a man to erect a new house anywhere on his own ground, subject to the all-important provision that it did no harm to his neighbour's house and ground. In this connexion the term 'house' comprised, not only the dwelling, but also the farmyard wall or fence, and everything that this enclosed. It followed that a new house must be kept at least the width of its eaves from the neighbour's boundary to make sure that the rain dripping from them should not damage his property. The method most commonly adopted to ensure this was to leave space enough for a man to pass on foot between the new house and the neighbour's boundary. If a man wanted plenty of elbow-room, however, he might build his house as much as two *pashë* ('fathoms') from the boundary. As his visitors were as free as members of his family to use the empty [497] space, a sizeable road was soon trodden out. Sometimes, too, a man who looked into the future left room for a road that was still non-existent but might one day be wanted by the community, in which contingency his house would otherwise have had to be pulled down and rebuilt elsewhere.

There were also a number of minor rules to be remembered in building. According to the law in Fulqet, if several men had contiguous land, they must build their houses as near as possible to the point at which their land met. Otherwise their several dogs

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would not recognize them and when A came to till his field, B's dog would treat him as an intruder and bite him, and he would have no legal claim to compensation for the injury. It is not known if this law obtained elsewhere, but the common sense on which it is based makes it probable that it did. Again, in the Moslem villages near enough to Elbasan to conform to the rigidity with which Moslem townsmen secluded their women, it was not permitted to make windows in a wall overlooking a neighbour's farmyard; the latter's womenfolk must be free to move about their yard unwatched. This ban on windows—which was Moslem, not Albanian—hardly extended to remoter Moslem villages, as women there enjoyed almost as much liberty as did their Christian ancestresses.

A man's ownership of his house and land was so absolute that he and his might emigrate temporarily or for good without losing their title to either house or land. Even if the family absented itself for a hundred years, no one might squat on its property. If the emigrant, before leaving, sold his land 'together with all that is on it', and one leaving for good usually did so, the piece constituting the site of the house remained his in spite of the terms of sale, and so long as one stone stood on another, no one might use the site. In Mirditë, however, a fixed term was set to this law; if the emigrant did not return within ten years, his house might be occupied by whosoever wanted it.

Every dwelling that emitted smoke might have one or more of the following accessories—yard, vegetable garden, field, road, boundary and, in suitable latitudes, vineyard. Of these the boundary and road were the most indispensable.[1] Every owner of a dwelling that emitted smoke had a right to graze his animals on the summer and winter pasturage owned by his village and to cut firewood and timber for his own use in the public coppices and forests. If he cared to build a bothy for his shepherds on a summer pasture or to break in ground for a field or vegetable garden on a common near his village, he was welcome to do so. He must first secure the consent of the elders of the village, who generally put the common weal before individual convenience. Their permission given, no one could stop his tilling the ground, nor turn him out. Theoretically every dwelling that emitted smoke should also have a portion of irrigation water, but the right to sell water often made this provision a dead letter.

[1] See Chapters VIII and IX.

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Obviously the crude and comfortless character of the Albanian house indicated a low standard of living and dire poverty in the ordinary sense of the word. But the Albanian had his compensations. He was secure in what he had, and unless he lived in an over-populated area like Dibër, he had the essentials. In alluvial areas like Myzeqe and in a few villages in the district of Mat there were big estates worked by share-croppers, but with these few exceptions the Albanian owned his house and land and need not think of rent or eviction. Since forests and commons belonged to his village or tribe and their products were free to him and his fellows, he need think only of the trouble involved in fetching his firewood and grazing his sheep. With luck he might have surplus animals to sell in a market town for money that would pay for his taxes, for clothing, for imported goods like coffee and sugar, and, costliest of all, for brides. With subsistence as his only possible aim, he need not work every day and so enjoyed a good deal of leisure. In short, although his comforts and amenities were few, so also were his worries.

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the housekeeper who remained discreetly out of sight behind the door where she handed it to the men. She must wash up but warned by the proverb which says of work done badly by firelight because there are no lamps, 'Evening's work, morning's laugh', she waited till the next day. Then her task was much less formidable than one might think. At both the men's and the women's table everybody ate out of a common dish, fingers were used for a meat course, and one and the same wooden spoon dealt with soup and any semi-liquid food that followed. The men generally had their own spoons as they thought this more hygienic; they washed them themselves—rather sketchily—immediately after supper, and tucked them into their breast, ready for the next meal at home or at a friend's. If coffee was served, the master of the house or his deputy rinsed out the cups, for the precious utensils must never leave the sitting-room in case the women took to drinking coffee. Twenty men could sup on soup, meat, bread, curds and coffee without the housekeeper's having more than three centre dishes and the dining-table to wash.

A multiple household might contain as many as twenty persons, a goodly enough number but only a pale reflexion of past glories. All over north Albania it used to be the custom for brothers, first and even second cousins to live with their wives and children, and probably several aged uncles and aunts and young sisters, under the same roof. Enormous housefuls sometimes resulted. For instance, there were sixty-four people in Gjon Macaj's house in Perlat about 1900, ninety-five in Isuf Isaku's in Zdrâjshë in 1923, and seventy in Lushan Sadrija's in Shalë even more recently. The houses themselves, though conforming to the regulation pattern of men's sitting-room, kitchen, stables, store-rooms, and one bedroom for every family unit, were remarkably small by our standards. Quite a little bedroom suffices for seven or eight persons if they all sleep on the floor, and both the sitting-room and the kitchen often served as dormitories, the former for men guests and the unmarried or widowed men of the family and the latter for women guests and the widows of the family. The primary cause of this way of life was the lack of public security in former times. Enemies and bandits could wreak their will on a single-handed man, but had to respect one surrounded by well-armed guards, and these the trustiest possible, his nearest relatives. After Albania became independent, public security improved so much that the need for a family to see

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little 'headland' which formed along the top of the lower field as the plough-oxen turned in their ploughing.) It was vital to save the upper field from being undermined by the tillage of the lower one. So the field-path (or headland) was always assigned to the upper field, with the boundary and the fence, if any, along its lower edge. The upper man was strictly forbidden to work the path, generally grass-grown, and so fairly cohesive. The lower man was even more strictly forbidden to cultivate right up to the path for fear he brought it down; since his own land slipped a little lower every year as he tilled it, the field-path soared higher above it. Only if the lower field was in grass did the law revert to its usual form. If the upper field was planted with maize and the lower one a grass meadow, all the land under the boundary stones belonged to the lower field because grass is in itself binding enough to stop landslides.

If a road or an irrigation channel divided the two fields, the upper bank belonged in most places to the upper man, and the lower to the other, since there seemed no risk that cultivation of the lower field would undermine the upper one. In Greater Dibër, however, no risks were taken. Both banks of an irrigation channel were given to the upper man in case the lower one worked too close to it. In any area, the owner of a lower field who made a drain for it had to make it four finger-breadths from his own boundary to make sure it did not damage the upper field.

If building a new house, the owner of the lower field had to keep it far enough away from the boundary to do no damage to the fence, as any such damage would make the upper field slip. On the other hand, the owner of the upper field had licence to build his house as close to the fence as if the site were flat, that is to say, with only half the width of a footpath intervening, but he was never foolhardy enough to do so.

Sometimes it was the lower man who received protection from the law. In Martanesh, for example, when the upper one built a fence or wall round his field, he had to leave the boundary stones as well clear of it as if the field were flat. This was in case it moved and encroached on the boundary.

Sometimes a fence was misplaced. Even if it was only one cm. inside the neighbour's land, it had to be moved. In Bicaj the neighbour sent a mutual friend to say so to the owner; if the latter ignored the message the neighbour took down the fence and saw

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a man willing to burn women and children to death and to harm property; in Shpat property was so sacrosanct that one must not touch even 'the leaf of the leek' belonging to one's enemy.

When the community decided to burn out a man whom they had sentenced to banishment for committing a heinous murder, their numbers and their power to exclude him completely from the tribal life made it impossible for him to resist. It was otherwise with the victim's kin. For want of power to exclude the murderer from more than their own section of tribal life they could not make him submit tamely, and in their attempts to use force they were often baffled by the fire-resisting principles on which most mountain houses were built. With the walls of stone, only the roof and the outer door were inflammable, and with no matches available these could only be set alight by blazing brands, probably of pitch pine, brought from another house. If the murderer was a rich man, he lived in a house surrounded by a courtyard wide enough to keep incendiaries at a safe distance from both roof and doorway; one or two towers in the walls of the courtyard sufficiently protected its gateway. If the murderer was poor, his house had no courtyard. But like the rich man's, it consisted of two or more storeys, the stable on the ground floor and the living-rooms above. The roof was, therefore, too high for the avenger to throw firebrands among the rafters. The door was surmounted by machicoulis through which the defenders could shoot or pour boiling water, and loopholes at the corners of the living-rooms commanded the approaches; in cases of bitter feud the door was sometimes covered outside with tin plates. Windows in a stable being thought unnecessary, the door was the only break in the solid walls of the ground floor. Sometimes avengers who were weak in guns hired men to fire the murderer's house. These hirelings came especially from Mirditë, for Mirdites were notoriously brave enough to face the risk entailed and poor enough to think only of the money offered; this amounted to some thirty napoleons (£40 in the 1930's) per man.

When an avenger burned down the murderer's house in hot blood, his motive was to do the murderer as much damage as possible. When he burned it down in cold blood, his motive was to drive the murderer into the open to be shot at. A murderer not infrequently shut himself up in his house during the daytime and stirred outside only at night, so remaining beyond the avenger's reach. When his house was set on fire, he knew that if he remained

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of losing his protégé, but even so he had to be fairly 'strong'. In Mat such a friend might take the murderer out three times with impunity. Afterwards he was sure to receive a message from the avenger which ran, 'Don't stir out again. Stay indoors. It was for your sake that I didn't fire.'

In the majority of cases the murderer neither ran away nor was shut up, but went about his normal business, taking certain precautions. An Albanian never despised his enemy; the strongest man will say, 'I am stronger than he is, but a rifle doesn't care for bravery, a rifle kills'. He remembers also that an enemy is ever on the watch: 'A wooden stake rots, but an enemy doesn't.' Yet another saying—this from west Mat—'Wood rots, a wrong doesn't'. 'A feud can't be forgotten.' 'A man with an enemy is like a hare sitting on its form, he must watch all the time.'

The first precaution a hunted man had to take at home was never to answer the door himself.

Since the laws of hospitality were rigid and seldom transgressed, a guest seldom killed, or was killed by, his host. Frok Gjeta of Kthellë, however, had lost his father at a guest's hands; three men had called and been unsuspectingly admitted; the old man was hospitably making coffee when they suddenly opened fire and killed him.

About 1910 some men called at a house in Orenjë, in Çermenikë, and were admitted by its widowed mistress as guests. They seized the only adult male in the house, her stripling son and, hanging him head downwards by a rope slung across a rafter, demanded money and avowed that they were avenging the murder of one of their kin by the family. The son said he had no money; the mother screamed that she had a little, but they hanged her son.

Another precaution commonly taken by a 'wanted' man was to live in a house of more than one storey. Such a house never had more than slits for windows in the ground floor and those in the upper room were square holes without glass, across which stone shutters were drawn at night. In Çermenikë the outside staircase that led down to the stables on the ground floor was always fenced in carefully with wood. For greater security the women lived on the ground floor protecting the men who lived above. If a man were rich enough, he built a high wall round the house; this gave him the freedom of his courtyard. In this case all the windows looked inwards on the court; the outer walls were blank save for

181 on the other hand, are strongly mixed with Greeks and softer, more
144 accessible to civilizing influences, and more desirous of innovations.
The consciousness of their racial coherence determines their life in
tradition--they know their genealogical trees, and hundreds of names
in them--, their boundless hospitality on the one hand, and their
boundless desire for feuding and the implacability of their revenge
● 342 for murder, on the other hand. Of archaic methods of living there
are to be found, as temporary living quarters, caves in naturally formed
erosions of river banks, closed off in front by plaited mats of switches.
Furthermore, there are conical huts made from unhewn stems and
rushes left long in cutting, in the coastal swamps; also, half under-
ground, walled up pits with a thatched saddle-roof and a mound of
earth thrown against it, used by herders and herds. Then there are
loam-covered huts of intertwined beech twigs and with a reed or leaf
roofing (Figure 2); one-room houses with walls filled out with grass or
pieces of turf with a flat roof frame-work consisting of three transverse
beams and boards loosely laid over them and weighted down with
rocks (Figure 3, which, furthermore, shows, next to the hut, a frame
for storing meat, and so forth, with a notched tree stump serving as
steps and a spruce tree serving as a natural hook for hanging things).
The permanent dwellings, always fenced in, are log cabins in the
forested region of the north; for the rest they are stone houses bound
with mortar, in central and southern Albania with walled-in supporting
beams, covered with straw, shingles, slate, planks, or furrowed tiles.
Originally it was level with the ground, with one or two rooms, then
it turned into a building with two or more stories, with or without a
verandah. The perpetual insecurity of the country as a consequence
of the blood revenge feuds developed tower-like fortified buildings
(kulen), with embrasures and a solid roof difficult of access (Figure 1),
out of bulletproof interior structures. The division into rooms in the
interior of these buildings is rarely made by means of walls, more
frequently just through boards or intertwined twigs, or sometimes even
[177] just through larger objects like chests. Into the urban building and
[53] decorative arts Italian-Venetian, Byzantine-Near Eastern, and Turkish
influences have penetrated; the Scutari chest wall in Figure 13 shows
a well-known pattern of Persian ornamentation with a tree of motif
in the final state of degeneration. The interior of the houses has loam
352 floors or timber floors; wall boards for putting away things (Figure 8);
wall pegs for hanging up dishes; tables in the shape of plates made of
two half-moon-shaped boards joined together to form a circle, with

1/1 [See: Karutz, El Europe, cat. 116, p. 67a --- Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

the trees and, as for arms, did not know what they were, except for two or three kinds of javelins and darts."

Thus he describes them as a savage horde, but gives no information as to tribes or chiefs.

It was fully another century before the Serbs were finally established and settled. Presbyter Diocleas, though hopelessly confused in his details about dates and persons, probably records a true tradition in his *Chronicles* when he describes the invasion of the pagan Slavs thus: "The Christians, seeing themselves placed in great tribulation and persecution, began gathering themselves together on mountain-tops, and strove to construct strongholds and castles and edifices, that they might escape from the hands of the Slavs till God should visit them and set them free."

The mountain dwellings of the Vlahs and the Albanians still bear witness to the flight of the old inhabitant before the invader. To what extent the partly Romanized Illyrian populations became intermixed with the Serb it is impossible to say, but the Serb differs so much from the Northern Slav-speaking peoples (Poles, Czechs, Russians) that a considerable admixture of other blood is suggested. That this differed in various regions is shown by the place-names. Slavonic names are thickest in Serbia (pre-war), in Macedonia, and in Bosnia—that is, in the most fertile districts. They are rarest of all in North Albania, and are scanty in South Albania and in Thrace. In Montenegro and the Herzegovina there is a sprinkling of non-Slavonic names. Antique Greek and Roman names appear mainly on the coasts. Inland, "Nish" preserves the Roman (? pre-Roman) name of "Naissus"; and "Uskub" (Turkish) and "Shkupi" (Albanian) preserve the old "Scupi," now completely distorted by the Serbs into "Skoplje."

How much of what survives of tribe and tribe law is a remnant of the Illyrians and the "peligones," and how much is Slavonic, can hardly now be determined; but it is of interest to note that tribe and tribe law have survived longest in those districts which were least under Serb rule—Albania, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina.

2. Tribe Law in North Albania

The Canon of Lek Dukagin

Whenever in the mountains I asked why anything was done, I was told, "Because Lek ordered it." Law, custom, usage, were all attributed to Lek. That he must have been a man of strong personality to have thus set a mark on a people is obvious; but very little is known about

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

A 531 342

place has been given to the Jugoslavs, has doubtless been destroyed. Here beyond doubt the Turkish "star" is the sun. The crescents at the ray-tips suggest that many of the "twigs" of the Bosnian tattoos are really tiny crescents at the end of rays, and have in many cases been evolved into crosses.

Y [304]

We have examined tattooing and sun-symbols among the Catholics. The Moslems of Bosnia, according to Truhelka, occasionally tattoo. I saw no examples myself.

A 304 531

But among the Moslems of North Albania tattooing is common. In the entirely Moslem districts of Hasi, Vuthaj, Arnji, and by the Moslems of Luria it was not easy to make any investigation, and impossible to ask questions. The population received me kindly as the only female foreigner who had ever visited them. But the "giaour" was suspected of being the forerunner of foreign annexation, and any questions regarding beliefs would have led to difficulties and probably closed the route to me. I could only observe and make secret notes. I saw many tattooed Moslems in these districts but never a tattooed crescent and star. All, both here and at Scutari, were marked with a triangle, and sometimes with an Arabic inscription. Or with a double triangle—which forms a star and is, I suppose, the substitute for the rayed sun. This same triangle or double triangle (Fig. 7, Nos. 10–13) is commonly painted on Moslem houses both up-country and in Scutari, where it sometimes contains a crescent within it. Oddly enough, the only time I saw the crescent and rayed sun (or star) without a cross as a tattoo it was on the hand of an old Catholic in Scutari (Fig. 12, No. 9).

A [342 531]

A 764

But though the up-country Moslem does not tattoo the sun and crescent (probably because the Christians tattoo them along with the cross), he cuts them out of wood—a circle for the sun and a sickle-shaped piece for the moon—and plants them at head and foot of his graves. Or the circle with a crescent below is cut in one piece and used as headpost (Fig. 9, No. 5). The Moslem Albanian, in fact, on quitting Christianity has rejected the cross but retained the ancient religious symbols of his pre-Christian ancestors—the sun and moon. He has not, except in the towns which were under Turkish influence, adopted the well-known Turkish gravestone with turban or fez upon it.

A 531 346

Emerging from these Moslem tribes I was amused to find that at Prizren, which was then by large majority Albanian, the sun and moon figured over the door of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

M 764 531

In Montenegro, traces of sun and moon can be found. The arms of the solid stone crosses usual in the graveyards end as a rule in hemispheres. Limestone is hard to tackle and no moon appears. When, however, a cross is carved in relief on a slab the moon appears as a

[Text continues on p. 131

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Historical. Yugoslavia EF2

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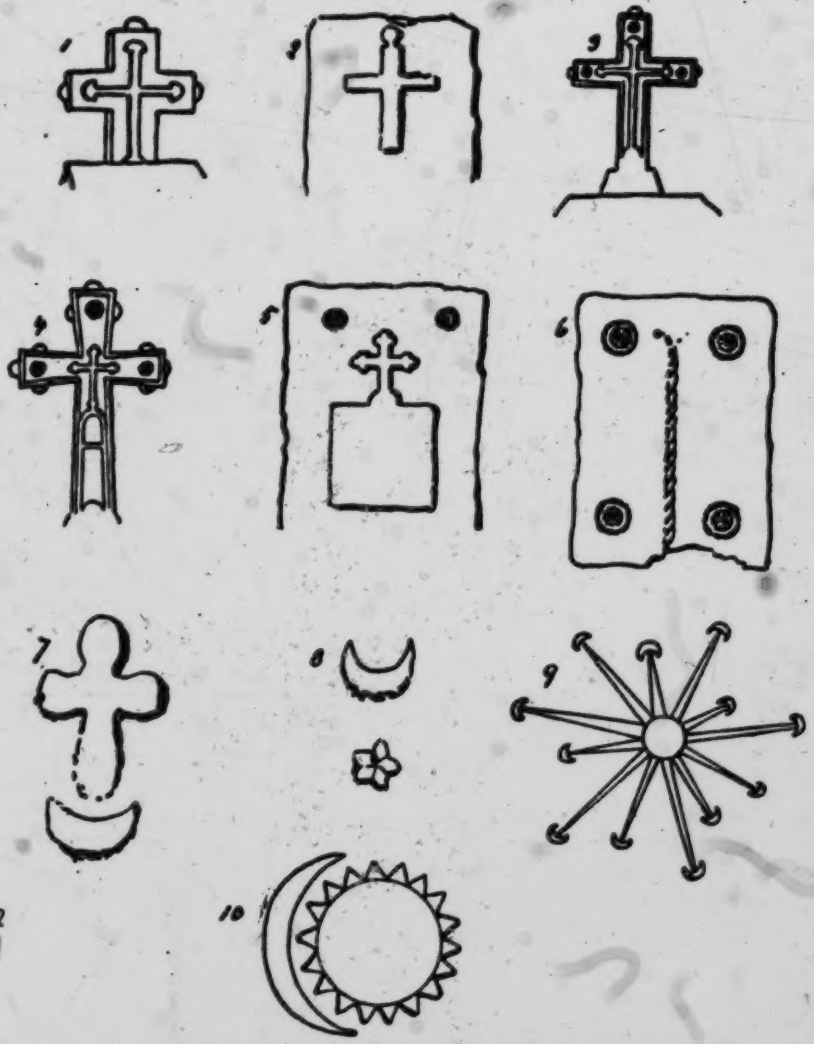

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FIG. 12.—MONTENEGRIN AND ALBANIAN SUN AND MOON DESIGNS

1–3. Modern Montenegrin gravestones, showing sun-and-moon cross. 4–6. Medieval gravestones at Stolats, Herzegovina, ascribed to Bogumil period. 7. Wooden sun with crescents on the Konak at Prizren (1908). 10. Rayed sun and crescent on Moslem house at Vuthaj.

372 and steel or lighters. This left the mountaineers in an unenviable position—they could not afford matches nor legally start fires by other means. Outside the market towns, however, their illegal actions passed unnoticed.

342 Several authorities, particularly Nopcsa, have concerned themselves with north Albanian house types. These are usually divided, on the basis of ground plan, room arrangement, and architecture into a number of classes: simple one-roomed huts, usually employed in the summer only by shepherds on high mountain pastures; 2-roomed, one-storied houses, with one room for animals and the other for the family; the so-called veranda houses, with a wooden front porch and columns, reminiscent of the Homeric hall; and finally the *kulla* or defensible stronghold (fig. 8, *a*). 1

The 2-roomed house seems to be basic in the mountains, although historically the more complicated structures have made these edifices rare. The veranda house, although old in the Mediterranean, was apparently late to reach this refuge area, being spread with Islam. The *kulla*, or stronghold, is said to have come at the same time as the veranda house. Both reached Kastrati and Shala about 1850, being introduced by one man who had lived in Istanbul, Liho Čuni.

For building materials the Ghegs are strictly limited to local supplies, since transportation [135] is so difficult. In the region designated on figure 2 as "serpentine highland," 2 the stone is hard to cut, and unsuited for fine masonry except in the hands of experts. Furthermore, lime is found in few places only, and it is usually impossible to make mortar without many tedious trips with pack-horses or donkeys. In this region many of the houses are made of wood, with squared logs laid on each other and held in place by vertical or diagonal crosspieces. Others are made of wattle: vertical poles side by side, with flexible wands woven in and out between them. At times this wattling is bare, but usually it is covered with some sort of plaster or mud.

[333] Where there is plenty of suitable stone and lime, these materials are used. The simpler, poorer houses are of dry masonry, but the majority are built with mortar. Roofing material varies from thatch to shakes, slate, and tile. Years ago thatch was much more com-

-14a-

1 [See cat. 116, p. 108 -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116 p. 8a -- Analyst]

342 monly used than at present. The shift from wheat to maize as staple cereal deprived the farmers in many parts of Albania of roofing material.

[353] The interiors of most houses are quite bare, with no carpets on the hewn plank floors, and [354] little decoration on the walls. In the older houses a fireplace covers about 10 square feet of floor area, and the smoke finds its way out through the thatch or roof tiles. In so doing, it cures meats hung in a rack above the fire, particularly in Catholic houses where pork is preserved for the winter.

The introduction of the *kulla* brought with it some drastic architectural innovations. The *kulla* is a 3-storied square tower, built with one purpose in mind—defense. Nopcsa finds a high correlation between the incidence of *kullas* in different villages and *bairaks*, and that of death by violence. The lower floor of the *kulla* is for the shelter of animals. The second and third are for habitation. One door opens into the stable below, a second, up a flight of bare steps, to the living quarters.

With a multi-storied structure something had to be done about smoke. Hence fireplaces were built one above the other, and a high [514] chimney ensured draft. One of the principal troubles with the old-fashioned house was its lack of a toilet. The feuding Gheg, attending the needs of nature in a corn field of a frosty morning, made an excellent target to his enemies hiding in ambush, and the feudal code contained no sporting rules to outlaw this easy shot. The *kulla*-builders therefore constructed an overhanging enclosed balcony of masonry, to serve as "W. C." In the conflict between sanitation and safety, safety won. The drain hole is made crooked to prevent pot shots from below. Since there are few windows, and these are built more for gunplay than for light or ventilation, a strong draft usually rushes up the drain hole. Down below in a heap against the wall the refuse accumulates, and were it not for the healthy mountain climate and the hardihood of the mountaineers, epidemics would be commoner than they are.

Gheg houses have both a social and an economic implication. They are usually large, and accommodate an extended family and its animals. Serving for defense, they reflect the

342 [562] local independence of the families within them. In the *kullas*, women are placed on the second floor, men on top; or else the women will live in a nearby unfortified house, while the men take refuge in the *kulla*. This reflects the inviolability of women in the local feuding law.

333 *Kulla*-building requires the skill of professionals. All stones are squared, and carefully set in mortar. The fireplaces and chimneys must be properly aligned and made to draw. The great height of the walls requires scaffolding. Nopcsa[3] says that they are built by itinerant masons, and that in 1908 they cost between 440 and 660 crowns (110–165 dollars). I was told several times when I asked that the *kullas* were built by masons from Dibra,[4] who also build them in Montenegro, Bosnia, and elsewhere in Yugoslavia. Exactly where in Dibra these masons come from I do not know. I have never seen one at work, nor did any appear in our series.

354 These houses, of whatever type, are heated by wood, which at the same time cooks the meals. In most of the region there is plenty of firewood, but in the northern limestone region it is scarce and must be sought afar. The mountaineers earn a little spare cash by carrying loads of firewood down to the market towns to sell.

In many houses in 1929 a primitive form of illumination was still employed. When it grew dark the host would lay a number of pine splinters in several iron racks, hanging from the roof, and light them. The oil in the wood would provide enough light to see by, but hardly enough for reading. In other houses, however, they used candles, and in still others oil lamps. Kerosene has been packed into this country in square 5-gallon tins for some time, and the tins themselves are as much sought after as their contents.

291 Gheg clothing has received even more attention than their housing. The costumes are picturesque, and make fine collections. They vary from tribe to tribe, *bairak* to *bairak*, and in some cases between villages. After six months of travel over the mountains I was able to tell where a man came from in many cases by the cut of his jacket, the color of his

[3] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 62.

1 [see cat. 116, p. 14 b -- Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 195 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

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a

b

c

d

a, An isolated *kulla*, Spaç *kaivak*, Mirdita. *b*, A Puka *kan*. *c*, Herder's hut, summer pasture. *d*, House in Shoshi.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1

III. THE HOUSES OF THE ALBANIANS

The Albanians, as descendants of the ancient Illyrians (1), belong, as well as the Greeks, to the most ancient inhabitants of the Haimos Peninsula, but they have not developed their own civilization either in ancient times nor in medieval years. Living almost isolated on a mountainous and inaccessible country, the Albanians have retained for many centuries their ancient customs, and even to-day they represent the patriarchal level in the evolution of civilization (2). This is the reason why everything connected with the life and the dwellings of the Albanians presents a particular interest to the numerous foreign tourists and ethnographers who, from time to time, have made relative surveys. 101

The most complete survey on the dwellings of the Albanians is, as far as I know, the book on Albania by Franz Baron Nopcsa (3). In this book, the author has summed up his previous impressions on housing in Northern Albania (4), and, at the same time, took into 342 114

1) The question of the origin of Albanians has not yet been clarified. Some recent linguistic surveys question the origin of the Albanian language from the Illyrian and accept a rather close relation between the Albanian and Thracian languages. C. Patsch (see **Herbert Louis,** Albanien, Stuttgart, 1927, p. 41) has found traces of Thracians near the Adriatic sea. [174]

2) See **K. Amantos,** Οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, 1923, pp. 129-189. **A. Keramopoulos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες. Athens, 1915, p. 198. Compare the journeys of **K. Steinmetz, E. Liebest,** and **Fr. Nopcsa** in »Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von C. Patsch, vol. I 3. 6 10. 11. **Baschmakoff,** A travers le Montenegro et le pays de Geuges, St. Petrsb. 1911 and **H. Louis,** pp. 36-40.

3) **Franz Baron Nopcsa,** Albanien, Bauten, Trachten, Geräte, Nordalbaniens, Berlin und Leipzig, 1925. Nopcsa is followed by **H. Louis,** on the subject of Albanian houses (p. 53-59).

4) **Fr. Baron Nopcsa,** Aus Sala und Klementi (Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von Patsh, vol. II) Sarajevo 1910. Haus und Hausrath im Katholischen Nordalbanien (volume 16) Sarajevo 1912.

A 342 [114] consideration the remarks of all other previous investigators, especially those of J. Von Hahn (1) and A. Haberlandt (2).

According to Nopcsa, the social status existing in Albania which, as Haberlandt remarked, has not changed since the medieval years, the lack of security, frequent revolutions and the systematic burning by the Turkish army of the houses of the fugitives from justice, contributed, before 1909, in bringing the housing situation to a very low level. Inhabitants of some mountainous regions of Albania (Sala, Kastrati), have stated that any relatively high buildings were considered as a novelty introduced into the country only before sixty years. According to Nopcsa, before the introduction of the two-storey house with a prostoon and of the Kula, the Albanians, who live in mountainous regions, the two-thirds of the country being at an altitude of over 1.000 meters, must have inhabited low huts, comprising one or two rooms at most and covered with hay or branches. Generally speaking, the evolution from the simpler forms of housing to the more composite ones has been very slow and toilsome in Albania, comparable to the slow process of Albanian civilisation.

A [133]

A [127] Here below I shall try to consider the house of Northern Albania, studied by Nopcsa, and, as regards Middle Albania (3), I shall only refer to the little but verified information we have from von Hahn and Ekrem bei Vlora (4).

According to Nopcsa, we distinguish in Albania a) houses of temporary or semi-temporary and permanent character, and b) houses built of timber, of other organic material and of stone.

In Northern Albania we first see the most primitive forms of housing, such as the cave dwellings of the Cem valley with the Cruda tribe, which entirely correspond to the prehistoric shelters. Caves formed at the ends of the valley, were enclosed by stone

Y [342]

1) **J. G. von Hahn,** Albanische Studien. Jena 1853/54.

2) **A. Haberlandt,** Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien und Serbien. Zeitschrift für Oesterreichische Volkskunde, Ergänzungsband 23, Wien 1918 — Volkskunst der Balkanländer, Wien 1919.

A [171] 3) The area to the South of the Avlon gulf, as far as the Greek border is not examined in this book. This area is very wrongly referred to as Southern Albania in foreign surveys The houses of this region are those of North Epirus and their building style is purely Greek.

4) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** Aus Berat und vom Tomor. Tagebuchblätter (Zur Kunde d. Balkanh 13) Sarajevo 1911.

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walls or woven branches and were thus converted into a cave dwelling, which is also met in many places of the Herzegovina (1).

But also the trogle, that other form of semi-underground dwelling which, as already said, was from time immemorial used by the Thracians in Scythia Minor and Dardania, is also to be found in the plain between the Scodra lake and Tuzi, which is near the frontier in the area of the Hoti tribe, and it constitutes to-day a form of temporary housing.

Nopcsa describes the construction of this hut as follows: «A trench is first dug in the ground, having 6 m. length, 3 m. width and 0.30 m. depth, in a parallelopiped (see fig. 62). A stone wall is then built on all sides of the trench, it excels the ground by 0.30 m. on the long sides and on the short sides by almost 2 m., and is continually reduced in its width. The main wooden beam is then fixed on the short side walls, and a saddle type roof is erected, covered with hay. Earth is then accumulated on the outside of the walls, so that the ends of the roof come into contact with it. The earth is soon covered with wild plants, and its artificial character is covered with green in a very short time; only roofs project then from the ground, and nothing else is seen in the inhabited areas. The hight of the hut in the inside is from 1.3 m. to 2 m. The entrance is constructed on one of the short sides, not higher than 1.2 m. It looks like an opening which is not closed by a door, but simply with thorny bushes during the night. On the wall that faces the door a fireplace is built. In winter time shepherds and flocks live together in those huts, whose little space is thus sufficiently warm and protected from the glacial North winds sweeping the Hoti valley.

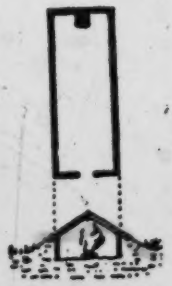

Fig. 62. Plan and section of a semi underground hut near Tuzi (Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 1)

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[354]
[231]

The last type of temporary houses of Northern Albania is that of huts built over the surface of the ground. The form of these huts is a parallelopiped; they are constructed of wood and their walls are of reeds or woven branches covered with a clay layer. These huts are widely used in summer pastures and lowlands near the sea.

1) **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina, 275 and foll. Fig. 69.

342 Whenever the building material available on the spot is stone, the shepherds build their huts with simple stone walls covered with roughly cut wooden plants.

It is at first sight very difficult, according to Nopcsa, to find any basic difference between a stone-built shepherd's hut and a primitive one-room, stone-wall, permanent house of the Albanians. For the only difference it is that the permanent house is larger, higher and the frame-work of its roof is more strongly built. Its construction has also an immediate relation with the nature of the ground. Namely, the building material locally available will determine whether the house (called «shpi») will be out of stone, or out of wood and of reeds. Thus, in the plain district of the seaside (Mati), where there is no [556] stone at all, even richer inhabitants have to content themselves with houses made of wood, although, for lack of security, stone-built houses are everywhere considered as ideal, since they offer protection both against stray shots and fire.

The Albanian house is then in its simplest form an one-room dwelling, with its entrance either on the side of the roof gable or on the side where the rain water is drained off. But while half-underground shepherd huts have always their entrance on the side of the roof gable, even simpler clay and lime built Albanian houses have it always on the side of rain-water drainage.

Such one-room dwellings of stone and clay constitute the house of poorer classes of the population in the mountainous region NW of Scodra round the river Drilon, the Cem valley and many other regions of Northern Albania. The roof is sloping on two sides and the main pole corresponds to the length of the house, so that its two ends rest upon the short side walls. The roof is usually covered with branches.

In such mountains, where there is a complete lack of forests and therefore difficulty in obtaining timber in order to construct a frame for a large roof, inhabitants are obliged to construct a small stone-built house of a special type, whose geographical spreading out corresponds, according to Cvijić, to the area of the Karst Mountain. According to Haberlandt, this type of house was the characteristic dwelling of ancient Illyrians.

Both men and animals live in the above single-room, although [231] the stable is often separated from the human habitation by a thin, not very high wall made of woven reeds.

In some areas, a special entrance is opened for the animals in

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342 the above single-room house; thus there are now two doors in the house, corresponding to the internal, in fact only theorical, division of the room (1) (fig. 64). The floor consists of well beaten earth.

In later years, this internal division of the room was materielised by the erection of a real wall dividing the room into two serarate
[354] spaces. In some areas, this dividing wall runs parallel to the long side of the house; two dwellings are thus formed, each having a separate fireplace (Plate XVIII 5). But the most common division of space is that done by a transversal wall, i.e. running at right angles

Fig. 63. Houses near Dinoshi, in the area of tribe Gruda
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 34)

to the main pole. This wall is always built of lighter material (woven branches or planks) than the outer walls.

[354] Of the above two rooms one contains the fireplace and it is the
[574] dwelling of men and the guest-room for visitors. The other, with no fireplace, is a sort of ante-room and it is used as cellar and dwelling for women. (Plate XVIII 3).

171 The entrance is always in the ante-room, through which one
342 enters the main room where the fireplace is. This is, according to
354 Nopcsa, a difference to be noted when comparing the above house to the corresponding Serbian and Croatian, which has the fireplace in the ante-room, as we have seen. This difference is also to be noted in the tripartite Albanian house. In Jugoslav and Rumanian regions,

1) The two separate doors can also be seen as a rule in houses of the villages in Attica. See **St. Kyriakidis**, Σπίτια καὶ καλύβια τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐν Ἡμερολ. Ὁδοιπ. Συνδέσμου, 1926, p. 67.

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342 354 [171] the central-room, which has the entrance and the fireplace, is used as a kitchen, and the two rooms on each side are living rooms. On the contary, in Albania and in Herzegovina—had Nopcsa known the Greek house he would have added Greece(1)—there are rooms with fireplaces on each end of the house; a simple entrance between them is, according to Nopcsa, (and others before him), a proof that this room was previousley used as a stable (p. 39) (Plate XVIII 13). It must be noted that the fireplace has been moved from the party wall and is now always against the external wall of a short side, because this one is, as we have already said, more stoutly built than the middle one. This is the reason why in Middle Albania where, as

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Fig. 64. Winter dwelling of the Nikshi baïraktar in Bregumatja
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 18)

354 noted by Hahn, the entire hut is usually built of timber, the wall of one narrow side, where the fireplace is built, is always made of stone or bricks.

Nopcsa attributes the construction of two-storey buildings in Albania not to a need to increase living space in hight, as it would be probable in a country where a horizontal increase is not always possible, because of the mountainous nature of the ground, but to the same reason why the floor of a wheat-store is built high over the ground, namely to the need for protection from dampness(2).

An example of a simple two-storey house is given by the plan

1) Nopcsa knows the Greek dwellings only from the book of **De la Guilletière** Lacédémoine ancienne et nouvelle, Paris 1676, noting here and there some happy comparisons in building and other habits of Albanians and Maniates (pp. 39-54).

2) See **Fr. Oelmann,** p. 73, On the Composition of Multi-floored Buildings.

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of a house at Kolaj (in Mali Rencit) (Plate XVIII 6) where some families of the Klmeni tribe spend their winter. The ground floor comprises a store-room and a stable for the horses. The two rooms of the upper-floor have each their own entrance. The ascent to the upper-floor is made by a stone-built twin-arm staircase, inorganically attached to the outside wall of the frontage. Fireplaces are also here situated on the narrow sides of the house, just as in ground-floor houses and huts.

Apart from the above two-room houses, there are also in Albania two-storey houses with one or two rooms, having at their long side wall at the frontage, an open portico, a prostoon. The roof of this veranda is supported by wooden poles. In Albania we meet both forms of it: with both its sides open called then a «zardag»; the other, when its sides are closed by walls, known as «shamashin» (Figg. 66 and 67, Plate XVIII 7 and 8).

The ascent to this veranda is made by a stone-built staircase, inorganically touching it; the staircase is either massive or it forms a semi-circular arcade under the landing. Nopcsa is right when he considers the one-floor wide fronted prostyle houses as a forerunner to the above type of Northern Albanian house; the former can be seen in Proseku, to the South of the area he surveyed, also in Middle and Southern Albania, and has infiltrated from the South to the North of the country.

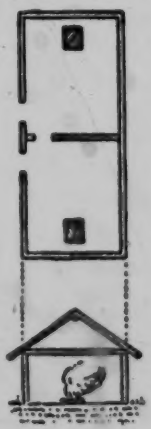

Fig. 65. Plan and section of a two-room dwelling (Nopcsa fig. 19)

Nopcsa is also right when he considers the prostoon, veranda, as that element of the building, whose different variations contribute to the increase of living spaces and lead to the perfection of the housing form.

According to Nopcsa, the first move towards a more composite form in the Albanian houses can be seen in the old house of the Mali Kencit area (Figg. 68 and 69). An external stone staircase leads to the veranda, which is supported by stone pillars and is enclosed on both sides (shamashin). Wooden poles support its roof; but the openings between them are closed with wooden planks on both ends. Two store-rooms or cellars have thus been formed, receiving light from small openings, sky-lights. Separate doors lead from the veranda to the two rooms of the first floor, that communicate by an inside door as well. Both rooms have fireplaces situated exactly at the

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middle of the external narrow side walls. There are no chimneys. The smoke escapes through the roof. Stone walls and wooden planks divide the ground floor under the veranda as well as the first floor into various spaces used as stables or store-rooms.

Nopcsa says (p. 41) that if, during the process of evolution the prostoon of our Albanian house is enclosed by wooden planks or by

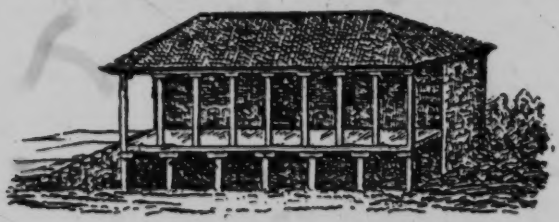

Fig. 66. House with prostoon in Brebula
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 25)

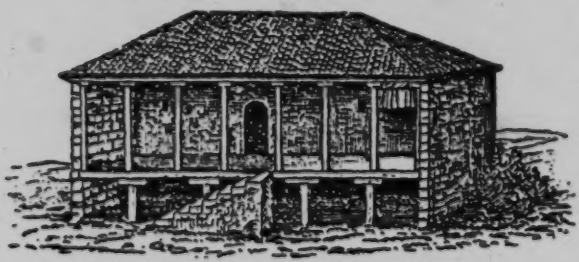

Fig. 67. House with prostoon in Toplana
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 24)

a wall on the front, it is possible that such a house originally one-roomed, is on its plan very similar to a two-roomed house divided in length; but the absence of a fireplace in the front-room as well as its use are even then enough for us to recognize the evolution which took place».

This is very clearly shown in the plan and the vertical section of the first-floor of a house in Vuksanlekaj (in the South of Podgoritsa) (Fig. 70). This was originally a single-room house. Later, one part of the room was divided off, thus forming a small room with no fireplace. In this house, the veranda is not supported by wooden

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poles in the front but by a solid wall. The fact however, that this supporting wall is only of secondary importance is proved by the existance of a middle wall, extending all along the leugth of the house; this wall is stone-built throughout and enables us to recognize it as one of the original external walls of the house. The roof of the

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Fig. 68. Main facade of a house of a well-to-do Shkreli in Mali Rencit
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 26)

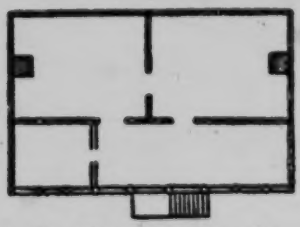

Fig. 69. Plan of the above house
(Nopcsa, fig. 28)

veranda is supported by wooden poles standing on the floor of the house. The ascent to the first floor shows here an important progress, because the staircase comes through the floor of the veranda and is thus included within the house.

By enclosing the space under the veranda other protected spaces are created and used as stables.

«Examples studied so far», says Nopcsa (p. 73) «show how many

342 types of housing may evolve by combining a two-room house to a prostylon house» (i.e. with a veranda). Starting from this idea, he proceeds to the explanation of how more elaborate housing types were created, such as those seen in the Scodra valley.

To illustrate this, Nopcsa gives the plan of the upper floor of a house in Kastrati (Fig. 71) and remarks that: «The plan of this house shows that it belongs to the same type as the Prel Ivanaj house we saw above (Fig. 68-69) and that the veranda is substituted

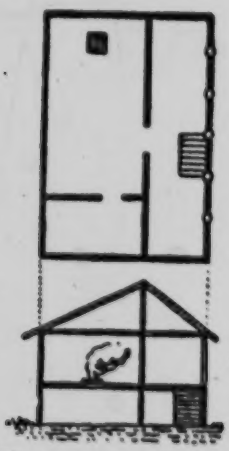

Fig. 70. Plan and section of a house in Vuksanlekaj (area of the Hoti tribe) (Nopcsa, fig. 28)

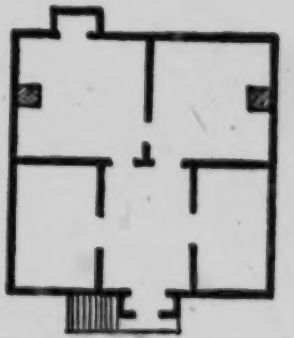

Fig. 71. Plan of a house in Kastrati (Nopcsa, fig. 30)

[712] by a space enclosed by walls». The staircase is also here external but, in order to protect the people, when they leave the house from the bullets of ambushing enemies, this staircase has been included into an enclosed entrance, which protrudes from the house in the form of a separate cabin outside its front wall. The small additional [514] cabin at the back of the house includes the lavatory.

This enclosed entrance which, according to Nopcsa «constitutes an original Albanian construction», is shown on Fig. 72, picturing a house of Kolaj. This entrance also includes a passage which ends at an enclosed staircase. This house, with its four rooms, two in the front and two in the back, can be considered, according to Nopcsa,

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as the most perfect type originating from a prostyle house. Even the difference in the size of the windows proves that the walls on the side of the veranda were built later than the rest of the building. 342

The description of another house of Bregumatja (p. 46, Fig. 33) illustrates the inner disposition of living space, and shows a similar evolution: the veranda has been closed by a wall on the frontside. Part of the inside, however, has remained as an entrance hall. A room with two windows «a la franca» was made on the right of the hall, and a cellar on its left. Yet these spaces were not separated by solid walls, but by thin mud-covered trellis. The room is characterised by

Fig. 72. View of a house in Kolaj
(Nopcsa, fig. 32)

its roof, its large and glass panelled windows and by its containing a high table with a few high chairs, just as «the good room», destined for distinguished guests. This form and furniture are typical for all these extra rooms. The two large rooms at the back of the house are communicating by a door, but they do not have any ceiling. One of these rooms serves as men's room, and the other as women's room, but at the same time as a kitchen and cellar for everyday life articles. [352]

This multiple formation, as shown in this advanced type of Albanian house, evidently corresponds to the needs of the Albanian family, which is based on patriarchal customs. Moreover, if we take into consideration the life conditions of Albanias, the house pictured on Fig. 72 could include, according to Nopcsa, 20-30 inhabitants, as the only 342 592

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342 reason for building another house would be the dissolution of family
[592] bonds.
Consequently, the system which exists in the Slav countries, to
[171] build separate, additional, small dwellings for young or married members of the family, is foreign to the housing customs of the Albanians.

As Nopcsa remarks (p. 49), a more developed and organically disposed house, like that pictured in Fig. 72, cannot easily be expanded, because of the serious difficulties created by a corridor running along it, as well as for the position of fireplaces and staircase. That these difficulties may be overcome, is shown by the house of Trushi (in Zadrima) Fig. 73.

[354] In this house, fireplaces have been moved to the front long wall and placed between two windows. Two staircases have been built

Fig. 73. Big house in Trushi, in the plain of Scodra
(Nopcsa, fig. 32)

in addition, with two prostoa opening at the centre. A twin house has thus been formed, each of which it is completely separate from the other. By the wooden extensions of both prostoa, some of which
[251] project and are supported dy wooden beams, there are formed some washing places known from our own villages; or cupboards, for victuals, that are protected against mice on the one hand, and are in a cool air draft on the other.

Similar constructions are seen in the veranda of an old two-storey house of Scodra (Fig. 74). This house is more than 125 years old and it is built at right angles, because of the smallness of the building plot. The ground floor includes a weaving room, an oil press, a stable, a wood store, etc.; living rooms are all in the upper floor.

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In the front its centre is taken by a large open room, also disposed 342 ●
at right angles, whose roof is supported by wooden poles. Both ends of the front part of the house are occupied by brick-walled rooms. The construction of a stone-built staircase, leading to the upper floor, is characteristic of the construction mode. The staircase consists of two branches, it is internal and pierces through the floor of the veranda. Its steps are supported by two quarter-circle arches, and the landing by a semi-circular arch. If Scodra were not mentioned in [171]
the picture, we would imagine this house to be in Yannena or Arta (1). It is well known, that steps placed on arches are widely used at

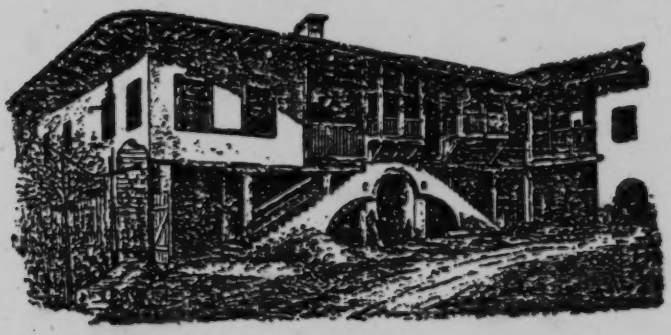

Fig. 74. Old house of Scodra
(Nopcas, fig. 36)

the houses of Mystras; they remained in use at the popular houses [171]
of Greece until the beginning of 19th century, a characteristic element of Byzantine architecture which, according to An. Orlandos, «not only resulted in economy of space and building materials, but also gave lightness and grace to the staircase» (2).

The house of Middle Albania presents a similar evolution as [184]
that of Northern Albania despite the great difference in habits and customs displayed by the population on either side of the Genouses (3).

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1) **A. Zachos,** Ἠπειρ. Χρονικά vol. 3 (1928) Table 5, 6 and 8 **An. Orlandos,** Ἀρχ. Βυζ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος vol. B. pp. 186, 189, 191 **Ang. Hadjimihali,** L'Art Populaire Grec, Athènes. 1937 p. 59 Fig. 24. Comp. **Ang. Hadjimihali,** Ἑλλ. Λαϊκὴ Τέχνη, Athens 1931 p. 175 Fig. 179 Ρουμλούκι, Τρίκερι, Ἰκαρία.

2) See **An. Orlandos,** Ἀρχεῖον Βυζ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος. Volume C. 1937 p. 60 and foll.

3) See **A. Keramopoullos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βόρειοι γείτονες, p. 200.

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342 We conclude this from the description of J. von Hahn who visited
[171] Albania during the middle of the 19th century. «Albanians», says Hahn, «just like Greeks, seem to prefer the two-storey house. This takes the form of an elongated rectangle, divided into two parts both in the ground and in the upper floor. In the ground-floor one of them is a stable and the other a store-room.

»The two rooms of the upper floor have a long veranda in front of them, supported by wooden pales and opening on the yard. A staircase, covered by an extension of the roof, leads up to the veranda; two doors lead to rooms that do not communicate with each other. The women of the household sit and work in this veranda during almost the whole year.

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[369] »A considerable increase of space is effected at the veranda (as far as I know, only in urban houses) by the fact that the house itself does not comprise two, but three spaces, of which the third, a central one, does not regularly constitute a closed room, for there is no party wall between the two corner rooms and the veranda. The floor of this room is about one foot higher than that of the veranda, and it is used by the family for their meals, when the season of the year permits it. Now, if an increase of space is necessary, part of the veranda is separated and converted into a room, which is sometimes extended on this side of the veranda towards the courtyard; or the veranda is left intact and two corner rooms are built on either side of the staircase; these rooms are also facing the courtyard, so that the veranda takes now the shape of a cross.

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[171] »This is the form which is taken as a besis in the final shape of the Turkish house[1], because even in the case when this or that or all the sections of the crossform building were converted into rooms, some indications in the consistence of the walls, the cornice and the

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1) **J. von Hahn** abuses here the word «Turkish» when he means the completed form of house which has developed after a long process of evolution during the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine years in Greek countries. The truth is that the Turks adopted the closed form of house, which opens into an internal courtyard, because of the secluded life their women live. The covered verandas and open rooms of Byzantine houses were especially pleasant to them, as they had a comfortable and protected view. The presence of this architectural element in the popular urban architecture of Greece, as remarks Prof.
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[342] **A. Keramopoullos,** Αἱ δρύφρακτοι τῶν οἰκιῶν in rev. Archimidis 21 (1920) 61. is continuously witnessed from the 6th century B.C. up to this day. Turks have never been known as good house builders. Comp. **Gi. Markopoulos:** Ἡ λαϊκὴ μας ἀρχιτεκτονική, Athens 1945 p. 94.

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decorations allow us to discern that these rooms were(1) separated later on. When he was considering Hahn's descriptions, that prove of a most acute observation power this investigator of Greek and Albanian folklore was endowed with, Nopcsa already found some elements that bring the house of Middle Albania near that of Kastrati described above (p. 71), in what the development of the prostoon is concerned. Judging from the plans of houses in Dyrrachion and Rethi given by the Italian G. Rosati(2) in his survey, Nopcsa arrives at the conclusion that «the shape of such a house constitutes the regular type in Middle Albania»(3). If seen more closely, the shapes of houses taken as a basis by Hahn show, however, a much more advanced stage of development than that of the best houses of Northern Albania; and the plans of these houses, I have drawn on Plate XVIII No. 16-19, are basically the same as the types of Greek house on Plates V 5^b and IV 3^{b-f}. It must also be noted that the completed shape of the Bosnian house (see above p. 91, Plate XVII 9) entirely corresponds to the type of house characterised by Hahn as Turkish (Plate XVIII 19).

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When examining the expansion of the prostyle wide-fronted house, Nopcsa finds that this house may be spread all over the Balkan peninsula, from the Peloponese to the area North of Skopje, but thinks that houses with a veranda are much more numerous in the Italian peninsula than in the Balkan(4). This is perhaps the reason why he accepts the opinion of Haberlandt, who recognises a «Roman and an Italian medieval element» in Albanian housing architecture.

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As I have not been able to see the survey of A. Haberlandt,

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1) **J. von Hahn,** Albanesishe Studien. Jena 1853 pp. 73 and 169 and foll.

2) I could not find the survey of Rosati, Condizioni agronomiche dell' Albania, 1915.

3) **Nopcsa,** op. cit. p. 46.

4) According to **Fr. Oelmann,** Haus and Hof im Altertum, p. 71, the portico which extends along the side of the rain-water drain (Längslaube) is the natural prolongation of the eagle-type wide-fronted house, especially if this house still comprises a single room, or if this room has been sub divided only internally. This may be seen in High Germany, High Italy, especially with Yugoslavs (Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria), and Rumanians, as well as with the inhabitans of New Caucasus (The Tcherkg); more rarely with the Tcechs and the Poles, and not at all in Russia and Northern Germany. But while Oelmann mentions Southern Soudan, Beast Africa, India and even China, he never mentions Greece, and completely ignores everything connected with modern Greek architecture.

342 I am not in a position to conclude as to the correctness of his results. In any case, the arguments put forward (p. 51) by Nopcsa in its support, cannot be considered as strong in my opinion. In the first [192] place, the word p l a s, which in Albanian means palace. may have originated from ancient Dalmatian. But the Latin word «palatium» has been naturalised in the Greek countries already since the Augustan days, and this does not prove that there was any Latin influance upon their building modes, as neither the word «δοσπτιον» (alb. shpit) originating from the Latin word h o s p i t i u m, has any relation to Roman architecture.

Housing types impressed on medieval coins of some Albanian towns can be but little proof since, according to his own remark, houses such as the one represented on a coin of Scodra (end of 14th century) can be found even to-day in the area of Delvinon in Epirus; namely, they are connected with Greek monumental architecture.

342 712 This question will be better clarified, in my opinion, by the examination of another housing type, the Kula, which is widely spread in Albania.

The house in Albania does not serve as a protection against weather only, but it should also provide security against enemies. This double purpose obliges the Albanians to build even less comfortable houses, if these are to enable their inhabitants to enjoy a peaceful night and, if needed, to defend themselves in case of emergency from them. In Nothern Albania the most primitive system of defence at home consists in a mere hiding place, built with solid materials within the very house. This shelter is usually of 2.5 m. long and 1.5 m. high and it is covered with slabs of stone. The place is entered through an opening of 0.75 m. square, so that the entire [513] shelter does not differ in appearance from an oven. The head as well as male members of the family spend their nights in this shelter.

It is evident that the use of such a kind of quarters cannot continue over a long time. For this reason, even when they were to build a most primitive single-room house of stone, Albanians have tried to [361] obtain security by other means, i.e. by keeping the enemy as far from their houses as possible. The means to this aim are: building of the house in a secluded spot on a highest possible site, but not too far away from the fields, so that inhabitans may be able to reach their house in the shortest possible time in case of emergency; small windows, arranged in such a way as to afford covering fire on all approaches; a strong roof, difficult to reach, in order to

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prevent enemies from climbing it and from piercing a hole in it to fire on the defenders from above, something that has often happened. Finally, the lavatory is built inside the house.

Just as the house of Scodra is the highest point in the evolution of Albanian housig architecture, so is the Kula, according to Nopcsa, the most complete form of defensive houses.

The word Kula is of Arabic origin, and has already been met in Byzantine writers since the 11th century (1). Morever it is also known by the Serbs as early as 1350. Consequently, no Turkish intervention for the construction of the Kula, it is said by Nopcsa, was ever required.

The particular scope determines the building material, plan, dimensions and other construction details of such houses. These buildings are high, towerlike, built of solid stone, providing the greatest possible cover. Narrow loopholes are opened instead of windows, and small towers are built in well selected defensive places.

A veranda and a Kula mutually exclude each other, because if conditions of security allow the building of a house with an open prostoon, same conditions would render the construction of a kula useless. And vice-versa, nobody would ever think of constructing such a type of dwelling, where there is a danger that a veranda might be burned down at night time. This is confirmed by the geographical expansion of the «shpi» (house) and the «kula» (fortified house). Thus, there is a complete absence of typical, towerlike «kulas» in Melcija Madhe, Zadrima, which is situated in a plain, as well as in Bregubuns and Bregumatja, areas that enjoy greater security. On the contrary, in areas where statistics of crime show that a 21-32% of all deaths are caused by murder, we find the kula, while houses with a prostoon are absent. Because of the custom of vengence male members of many families are bound inside their kula for years.

As for the origin of these tower-form houses which, according to Nopcsa, were multiplied in Middle Albania between the years 890 and 1274, Haberlandt believes that from a house-building point of view, they must be derived from the towers and donjons propagated

1) **Anna Komnini**, 2, 124 Bonn: Τὴν μέντοι ἀκρόπολιν, ὅπερ κουλὰ νῦν ἡ συνήθεια καλεῖν εἴωθεν, ἔτι Κελτοὶ κατεῖχον... (The acropolis, which is now by habit called **kula**, was occupied by Celts...) **G. Kedrinos**, 2, 366: Ὁ Βούρτζης ἰσχυσε λαβεῖν τὸ μέτρον ἐνὸς τῶν πρὸς δύσιν Ἀντιοχείας πύργων, Κάλα τοὔνομα... (Vourtzes had power enough as to take possession of a tower, called **Kala**, at the West of Antiocheia...)

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in Central and Southern Europe from the 12th to the 15th centuries. He moreover tends to consider their «naturalisation» as the work of travelling builders, who belonged to the builders' guilds, because of the fact that they are called «mastori» in Albania.

Nopcsa remarks to the above, (p. 54) that the word «maistor» has been used in Serbia since 1350 and that it is common in Byzantium in the form of «Protomaistor». It would, however, be more correct to say that the words «maistor» and «protomaistor» that originate in the Latin word «magister» (earlier: μάγιστρος, μαγίστωρ) have had the meaning of a nobleman or a teacher first, and later that of

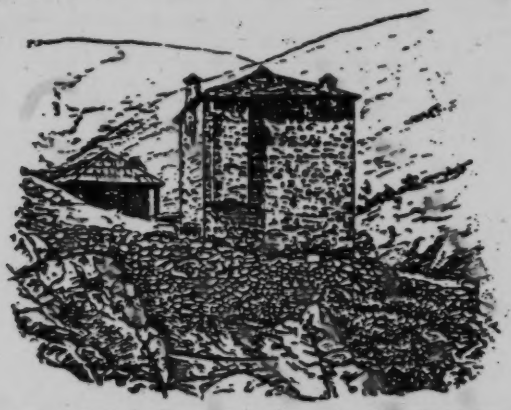

Fig. 75. A kula in Sapatsi, in the area of the Berisha tribe
(Nopcsa, fig. 41)

a craftsman and a master-artisan, since the first Byzantine years; and they are used in exactly the same spelling in modern Greek language, under exactly the same form as in Albania, i.e. mastoras-mastoroi and protomastoras. A great number of villages in Epirus, Western Mecedonia and the Pindus, especially in the areas of Konitsa, Korytsa, Metsovon, Malakassi, Houliarades, Tzoumerka and Voïon, are known as «Μαστοροχώρια» (builders' villages), because almost all their inhabitants have been builders by profession centuries ago. For months on end, carrying the tools of their craft, they travelled all over the Balcan peninsula as far as Bucharest and Constantinople, and more so in Epirus and Albania, in groups or guilds, under the leadership

1) Sophocles' Dictionary: Μάγιστρος and Μαγίστωρ: master-workman, master-builder.

2 [i.e. Haberlandt - ANALYST.]

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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

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It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ισνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peniusula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

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See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». ('Ο Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

9:Megas I, B-5, 4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

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as well as in Macedonian lowlands; it was also found in a lesser degree in other parts of the Turkish empire, probably as remains of Byzantine and even older years. On the other hand, it is well known that in Middle Age, « many houses were provided with towers and castles whence, in case of need, the rich were defending themselves against the attacking and exasperated populace » (1). Square towers, sometimes four floors high and attached to the parallelopiped of palaces and richer houses of Mystras are still to be seen in ruins. These date from the second half of 13th-15th centuries and have been described in detail by Professor Orlandos. (2).

Many such towers are still preserved in Thessaly, and I have described some of them, two in Aghià and one in Agrafa, in my book about the Thessalian houses (3). Some types of older towers at Damassi in Thessaly are known to us from a sketch and a description by the French author L. Heuzey (3). These towers are also the work of the same Epirot and Macedonian builders.

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[177]

A mere comparison between the Greek towers and those of Middle, South as well as North Albania, as described by Hahn, Ekrem and Nopcsa, will show that their architecture is identical. These towers are square, they have three or four floors, each of them including but one space; an internal wooden ladder connects these floors aud is used for the ascension from one to another. In some cases, a wooden fence divides the space of the ground floor into two parts only, the kitchen and the women's room. The system of an entrance through a draw-bridge, which connects the door of the second floor to a stone staircase built at a certain distance from the main tower, as

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1) **An. Orlandos,** Τὰ καλάμια καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ (p. 19, 54, etc.).

2) **G. Megas.** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 82-85 Plate 1B

3) **L. Heuzey,** Excursions dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858, Paris 1911 p. 36 see translation of the relative paragraph in **G. Megas** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p 84 Plate 36, where also photograph of old tower at upper Volos. Comp. the tower of Markellos on Aegina (**Lygizos,** Ἑλλ. νησιωτ. Ἀρχιτεκτ. p. 27) and the tower of Mytelene (**K. Maleas,** Εἰκόνες λαϊκ. Ἀρχιτεκτ. p. 24). I have seen similar old towers in Messaria and Staries on the island of Andros; same also exist on Naxos.

4) According to **Nopcsa** (p. 27 and 237) only one (!) fountain with a massive vault in Midritia is of modern Greek origin. Some other elements of the material life of Albania as well as the rest of Balkan originate, according to Nopcsa (p. 233), in the civilisation area of Constantinople and, «they are, therefore, of a Turkish and Byzantine origin having obviously reached Albania comparatively late».

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described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania.

Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1).

According to a remark by the Albanian bey: « It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact » (2).

As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate

1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν in Ἐπετ. Βυζ. Σπ. 1B 85. See also **D Loukopoulos** Αἰτωλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof, (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with wud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Ἀναασκαφαὶ καὶ ἱστορία ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** p. 56.

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342 living space for men and women (haremlik for the women and selamlik for the men)[1].
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177 It may be said as a conclusion to the whole survey that, if we except simple primitive forms of the Albanian house, that belong
Q probably to very ancient housing and building habits bequeathed to
177 Albanians by the ancient Illyrians and Thracians, all the composite types of houses and especially the two-floor prostyle ones, as developed by the various modifications of the prostoon (προστῶον), as well as all forms of towers (kulas) have been imported into Albania from outside. Not only technique and evolution, but also geographical and
G historical relationship persuade that this progress of Albanian archi-
[331] tecture is due to the activity of Epirot and Macedonian builders who, with their traditional technical skill, introduced better and more composite forms of housing into Albania. These builders, who travelled all over the country, have built many houses and have tought the art of building both to Albanians and to the other Balkan peoples.

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1) See the plan of an Albanian urban house of Berat by Ekrem bei Vlora p 57 and Plate VI.

9:Megas 1,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece

Albania EG-1

THE ALBANIAN HOUSE

IN ITS EVOLUTION

PLATE XVIII

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GROUND FLOOR UPPER FLOOR UPPER FLOORS

[End Plate 18]

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939) 1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Albania EG1

S 563 184 352 [516] [354]

ing, smoking cigarettes, and enjoying coffee and sweet cakes. Green creepers twine round the balconies; and the gardens are never without a medlar and a walnut-tree. In winter the women like to squat on their heels, warming their hands over a *mangal*, or open brazier, often made of brass or copper, decorated with pierced and incised patterns, and filled with glowing charcoal or hot wood-ashes, while the Turkish coffee-pot (*džezver*) comes to the boil. In richer houses small elaborately carved and inlaid wooden Turkish tables are set out for the plates of cakes and cigarettes.

The kitchen, the *podrum*, and the storerooms are on the ground floor, and the usual sheds and stables stand near the house, within the enclosure.

CM 342 563

The town type of Moslem dwelling follows what may be called the Old Macedonian or Turkish-Oriental style. I have found houses of this kind from Novi Pazar to Istambul. They are two or three storeys high; and are distinguished by their wide, overhanging eaves, formed by the projecting beams and rafters, sometimes supported by wooden brackets, their balconies and large roofed-in verandahs on the upper storeys, their airy passages, on which all the rooms open, and their shallow wide stairs, leading from floor to floor. The low-pitched roofs are sometimes thatched, sometimes covered with red curly tiles. In Novi Pazar, within the last three or four years, the overhanging eaves have been cut away from many of the houses in the main street in a distressing effort to acquire a modern appearance.

XIII

A 342 712

(6) *Houses of the* (*Moslem*) *Albanians in Metohija*, usually two storeys high, are more like fortresses than houses, and are known as *kule*, or towers. House and grounds, with the usual dependent outbuildings, are surrounded by a strong and high wall of brick or stone, entered only by the equally strong outer door. In some cases the house itself is part of the boundary wall. Its walls are strong and thick, also of stone or hard red bricks, never whitewashed. The

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania E61

342 712 low-pitched roof is tiled in red, with dormer-like smoke-holes, or tall, lidded chimneys. The strong wooden doors are round or square at the top ; the doorways often formed by lintels and side-pieces of wood, or arched with stone. Windows are few, and very small, often mere loopholes or slits a few inches across. Glass is rare : the openings may be barred by twisted twigs. In the stone houses they are often outlined by a frame of regularly shaped and spaced blocks. The guest-room is lighted by rather larger windows, which are nowadays generally glazed, though old-fashioned paper windows still linger in some parts. The side of the house facing the road is blind, though sometimes a few narrow slits are pierced just under the eaves.

342 712 627 The peasants themselves give as a reason for building such fortress-like houses that they have lived so long in dread of hereditary enemies, often very numerous because of the constant blood-feuds. These, like feuds in all countries, often arose over a woman, a runaway or a stolen wife. They said to me frankly : "Under Turkey we could pursue our wives, and kill them with their lovers ; but now we are forbidden to do this. A slit is wide enough for us to shoot through, not wide enough for us to be shot at. No enemy can see into the house through it, let alone climb in by it. And then a woman cannot go out by it to keep a tryst, nor can a man come in to find her." For similar reasons, all these dwellings have inside sanitation—small [514] apse-like closets built of the same material as the house, and apparently clinging to it.

352 The ground floor contains the small dark kitchens where the women and children eat their meals. They have floors of hard earth, and fireplaces of the huge projecting kind, or [354] small open fires with smoke-holes above, with a few cooking-[415] vessels of baked clay set at their edges : the flour-chest stands behind the door. On either side are the storerooms.

343 An open-fronted shed holds the carts and ploughs, with the stables and barn not far off. The stable is lofty, its roof of bare rafters being continuous with the roof of the first floor, so that one may look down on the horses through the slits in the end rooms of this storey.

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania EG1

A wide rudely made ladder leads to the first floor, along which runs a passage, or *hodnik*, four or five feet broad, made of uneven and draughty planks that give precarious hold to Western shoes. Dark cupboards of rooms open on both sides, one for each married man of the *zadruga*, with his wife and children. Sometimes they possess a window-slit, sometimes not. They are furnished with nothing besides a home-made plank bed, covered with the much-valued long-fleeced sheepskin rugs, made from sheep that have never been shorn, a clothes-chest, a loom, a distaff, and a stock of cotton and fleece. 352 [417]

In houses with only one top storey the large guest-room takes up the whole width of the house at one end of the passage. At the other end is the small apse-closet. But in a house with two upper storeys the entire top floor is devoted to the guest-room, which is reached by another perilous home-made ladder. [342]

This guest-chamber is far the largest and best-furnished room in the house; its ceiling, however, is as low as the rest. The floor-boards fit better, although, as in the other rooms, the door rests on a fixed barrier, twelve inches high, which keeps off draughts from those who are reclining on rugs or mats. A half or a third of the floor is spread with carpets, and enclosed by a low wooden kerb. Here against the walls are laid many long stiff cushions, tight with wool or straw, and covered with coarse hand-woven woollen stuff, worked in bright greens, reds, whites, and purples, in chevron-like patterns on a black or yellow ground. [531] These colours, in similar bold Albanian designs, are repeated on the light wood of the doors, unless these are carved instead. Outside the kerb stands a kind of bed-seat, about a foot high, with very simply carved back and arms, spread with the finest of the long-fleeced sheepskins. On one side of the room the fire burns within an immense chimney-place, projecting far into the room and reaching up to the low roof. [354]

The men have their meals in the guest-chamber. They sit cross-legged and unshod upon cushions round the *sofra*, eating from the dishes brought as far as the door by the 264 516 562

EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania E61
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

A 562 [264] [516] women, and set on the table by a young man. The best places and softest cushions are taken by the old men as a matter of course, when they recline or sit on the floor to smoke, talk, and drink coffee. At night this room is given A [574] up to the guests, who, of course, are almost always men. S Albanians are very jealous, and keep their women carefully M secluded in their own part of the house.

A Montenegrins and Serbs living in this region (some of 342 them claim that their families have dwelt there since pre-Kosovo days) build their houses in the thatched one-storeyed manner, with mud-brick walls as in Montenegro itself, copying nothing from the later Albanian fortress-houses.

XIV

C 342 [177] (7) *Houses in Dalmatia* are marked by Venetian influence, though not so strongly in the villages as in the towns, which are extremely Italianized in their building. In coast villages one generally finds quite ordinary little stone or brick cottages with thick walls and tiled roofs. Inland village houses are more distinctive. They are built of stone, with or without mortar. The roofs are tiled, and a C stone-flagged verandah and path run between the cool dark [351] house and the flower-garden, surrounded by a low stone wall. Windows are fairly large and kept open. In some of the villages in the neighbourhood of Dubrovnik a room shaped above the eaves like a huge extinguisher is used as a kitchen. Its sloping sides, twice the height of the upright walls, end above the roof in a small square chimney with a pointed cap, and are slit by one or more vent-holes. The narrow eaves almost meet the lintels of the doors and windows. In the Karst districts, farther inland, the cottages are of the barren mountain type.

XV

S 342 (8) *Shepherds' huts* are extremely simple, often like wigwams. In Serbia they are mostly made of sticks piled into the shape of a tent, with a door, the spaces between them sometimes filled with clay or sods. In the heights of

[i.e. the guest-chamber – Analyst]

buildings, fortress-like structure and small windows. House types thus serve as a clear index to the amount of feuding in any particular area. Where veranda houses prevail, conditions are fairly peaceful. This factor explains the almost mutually exclusive distribution of kulas and veranda houses in mountain areas, although how far this is borne out in lowland areas, I am unable to say. 341 578

Location and Types of Settlements. In the mountain regions west of Lake Scutari to Lake Ohrid one finds single farmsteads comprising one or two buildings. Only in the plains and at the foot of the mountains does one find Cvijić's Ibar type of settlements (Nopcsa, 1925: 6). This type is characterised by widely spaced, dense hamlets (Cvijić, 1918: 219). In southern Albania the village form is variable but agglomerated villages with crooked roads predominate (Cvijić, 1925: 224, Map IV). 361 [133] [341] [491]

House Types. Buildings of wickerwork and plaster are found only in the coastal plains, and even there they are rare (fig. 47). In the extreme north one finds houses of boards or logs. Most buildings are of stone; one finds some use of dry masonry, but generally mortar is used. Stone is preferred because it gives protection from fire and gunshot. In south and central Albania bond timbers are inserted into the stone walls; this pattern is lacking in northern Albania. The combination of stone foundation and wooden second story, found in Serbia, Bosnia, Rumania and Siebenburgen is missing in Albania (Nopcsa, 1925: 30). 342 184 [171]

Roofing may be of straw, shingles, slate, stone slabs or tiles. The simplest buildings in the mountains have roofs of corn stalks. Tiles are common both in the coastal and mountain regions. Roofing of stone slabs is widely distributed; most dairy houses in the high mountains are covered in this manner (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). High shingled roofs, common in Bosnia and eastern Montenegro, are found only in the extreme north of Albania. Gabled roofs predominate north of the Drin River; south of it one finds hipped roofs. Widely projecting eaves are absent. The kulas may have low pyramidal roofs and occasionally desk roofs. In general, roofs tend to be flat. When the roof is hipped, the chimney tends to be in the center of the short side (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). Chimneys are not typical. [171]

The simplest type of house is the one-room log house with a low roof of short thick shingles. Cracks in the wall are stuffed with moss; windows are lacking, and light enters through the open door and openings in the roof. The open fireplace has hung over it a deflector of boards plastered with mud; smoke escapes through the roof (Nopcsa, 1925: 33). 342 [354]

In the coastal regions of northern Albania, reed is abundant and walls are made of woven reeds. The roof is likewise of reeds. These buildings are generally plastered on the outside. Occasionally the roof is of unfired bricks (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). [824] [184]

342 The simplest stone buildings are made of dry masonry. Windows are lacking. The roof may be made of two rows of boards, 30-40 centimeters wide and rather thick, which are weighted down with stones or with a beam at the eaves. Occasionally they may have a hipped roof covered with stone slabs (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). More common are buildings of mortar and stone. When the interior is partitioned, interior walls are of lighter material, wickerwork or wooden boards. Whereas in Rumania and most of the southern Slav [171] area the entrance leads to the central kitchen, on each side of which are symmetrical rooms, in Albania the hearths are located on either side of the building and there is only a passage between the two side rooms (figs. 50, 51) (Nopcsa, 1925: 39).

More often than one-story houses, one finds two-story ones (only the kulas may have more than two stories). The ground floor has storage rooms and stables, while the second story has two rooms. The stairway to the second story is located on the outside. Often one finds a two-story house that has a veranda along the whole front and a massive masonry stairway leading up to it (fig. 49). When the veranda is encompassed by the side walls of the house it is called a shamashin, when not enclosed, čardak (Nopcsa, 1925: 43). In the veranda house, the basement space under the veranda and the rooms may be partitioned off with dry masonry or wooden boards into small rooms for storage and animals (Nopcsa, 1925: 44).

The stairs leading up to the second story may have wooden banisters. The roof may project over the stairs, or a separate canopy roof may be built over them. Sometimes a small stairway house is built over it (fig. 53) which makes for greater security when stepping out of the house. (The position of the door is always an important factor in Albania). Nopcsa (1925: 53) believes that this staircase is an independent development. One part of the veranda may be walled in to form a small room (fig. 50). The pattern of building separate houses for family members when the family gets too large is not known in Albania. However, in northern Albania this is given consideration when building additions to the house or making changes. If one needs more room, the building is enlarged or a room may be subdivided. Fig. 51 represents modification of a building into two separate units each with its own stairway.

342 Kulas are high tower-like structures of massive masonry that
712 can be defended by a few men. Instead of windows they have loop-
[341] holes and sometimes have a bastion-like defense structure on their upper story (fig. 54). Special construction for defense is found even in some of the simple one-room dairy houses. Thus, in one inside corner may be erected a structure, 2.5 meters long and 1.5 meters high, of solid walls covered with a slab roof. It looks very much like an oven, especially as the opening is only 75 centimeters high and 75 centimeters wide (Nopcsa, 1925: 52).

The door of the kula is generally to one side. Stairs to the second story are on the inside and may be merely ladders that lean

ALBANIA EGZ

342 712

on the wall. When the stairway leads to the second floor on the outside, the ground floor is generally used by women and also has the stables (Nopcsa, 1925: 58). Since the space in the kula is limited, women commonly reside in a one-story women's house, which is not necessarily built like the kula. If the kula gets too small for the family a second one may be built; the new entrance facing the old. They try to have the entrance protected by some other building and not directly in view.

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Interior partitioning walls are never of stone, as this is too heavy and would have to be continued to the ground floor. Partitions are generally of woven brushwood, boards or sometimes large objects are placed so as to form a division. Windows are missing entirely in simpler houses. In the mountains they are small, narrow, glassless and resemble loopholes. They are just large enough to look through, and at night are shut with heavy boards. The fireplace is always along the short wall of the house. It is square in form and made of stone slabs bordered by wooden beams, or of stones that are half buried in the ground. When the floor is of wood an area 20 centimeters deep is cut out for the fireplace and filled with mud for insulation from the fire. This is necessary in two-story houses. The fireplace generally rises only 10 centimeters above the floor. A horizontal beam may extend from the wall over the fireplace. On it is attached a metal chain on which hangs the cauldron. Sometimes a grating of wood is suspended over it for drying meat and to attach pots. The ceiling usually does not project over the fireplace. Sometimes a baldachine-like structure is placed over it; this is a wooden frame, filled with wickerwerk and plastered with mud. Between the wall and the fireplace there is often a built-in stone bench. This is sometimes set into a niche. Occasionally there is a smokehole set over the niche (fig. 55) (Nopcsa, 1925: 81).

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Farm Buildings. The yard enclosure is generally a fence of wicker. Occasionally the fields are also enclosed, but less completely. The fence may consist of poles stuck into the ground at regular intervals and bound in two or three places with twine. It may be of wickerwork or poles set close to one another and fastened with a horizontal beam close to the top. Dry masonry is also used (Nopcsa, 1925: 15-16). The yard may be enclosed by stone walls, 7-8 feet high, which are connected with the buildings, together with which they form an enclosure (fig. 43) (Patsch, 1904: 26-27). Nopcsa maintains that the high enclosures and large portals are lacking in Catholic settlements. I was unable to find out just how prevalent high stone walls are in Albania. While one might assume them to be an advantage in defense, one finds that many of the fortress-like buildings are surrounded by extremely weak fences (Nopcsa, 1925: figs. 9, 30, 41).

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The kukor is a frame of horizontal boards set on poles 2 meters high. It is not roofed over and is reached by a ladder, generally a notched tree trunk. It is used for the safekeeping of meat, etc. (Houses do not have an attic for storage.) (Nopcsa, 1925: 19-20). The kol for the storage of corn is the same as that used in Serbia, i.e. a circular wickerwork structure.

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BULGARIA EE1

A 342 343 When stables are not present, man and animals may live together in the same one-room house; occasionally a breast-high fence serves as a separation. Even in a one-room house there is a separate entrance for the animals. Occasionally stables are made of wood. I was unable to find more information on them, but it would appear that horses are more frequently kept in a stable on the ground floor than in a separate building. Sheds for storage are better made than the stables and rest on stone foundations to permit circulation of air (Nopcsa, 1925: 22). In northern Albania there are no separate houses for hay.

A 342 226 [824] Buildings Outside the Village. Cone-like huts (kaçor) are used as temporary buildings by fishermen in the swampy regions of the coast. They are made of rough branches that interlock at the top. They are 2 meters in diameter and 2.5-3 meters high, covered with reeds which make them waterproof (Nopcsa, 1925: 8).

A 342 [84] In the plains near Scutari, one finds semi-subterranean buildings. A deep excavation, 8 by 3 by .30 meters is made; on the long sides a wall 40 centimeters high of dry masonry is built up and on the short sides a wall 2 meters high. The gabled roof is of straw, and earth is built up until it touches the eaves. Grass soon begins to grow over the roof and it is not easily recognizable. The door is on the gabled side, the fireplace opposite it. This structure is used by shepherds and their cattle in winter. Similar buildings are found in Wallachia (fig. 63) (Nopcsa, 1925: 9).

A [233] A 343 In the barren mountains of northern Albania one finds storage houses built against the slope of a hill. Only a side wall and a front wall are erected. Horizontal beams are laid over this, then wooden boards, and lastly earth. Here one also finds dairy huts made of masonry, rarely of wood, resembling the simple one-unit house. They are meant for summer use and are erected on the sunny slopes. Each one has an enclosure in which the sheep are kept at night. The enclosure is irregular in shape and the fence is of wicker or of stone.

BULGARIA

B 342 [127] Data on the Bulgarian farm houses have been derived mainly from the works of J. F. Gellert on Central Bulgaria (1937) and East Bulgaria (1934). Cvijić, in his work La Péninsule Balkanique, deals but briefly with Bulgaria, commenting that his Mixed type predominates and that one finds "une mélange extraordinaire de formes d'ancienne maisons" (Cvijić, 1918: 251).

B 131 Central Bulgaria is the region extending from the Ihtimanska Sredna Gora to the Tundža River in the east; the northern boundary includes the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and in the south it terminates at the Rhodopes. It includes mountainous regions in the north and the lowlands of the Marica River. East Bulgaria

B [133]

Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1

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Fig. 43 Farmstead in Southeastern Albania

Y
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Fig. 44 Houses of Bay and Cliff (Southern Macedonia)

[P.86-J]

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ALBANIA

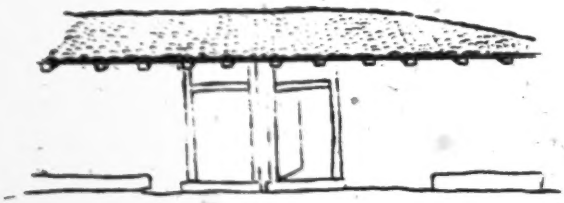

Fig. 47 House of Wattle and Daub

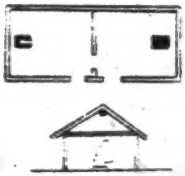

Fig. 48 Floor Plan of Fig. 47

Fig. 49 Veranda House

Fig. 50 House with a Room on the Veranda

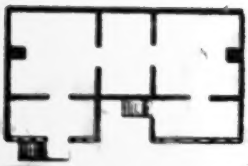

Fig. 51 House Transformed into Two Separate Dwellings

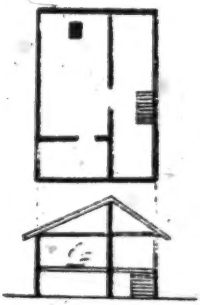

Fig. 52 Floor Plan of a House of the Hoti

[P 86-L]

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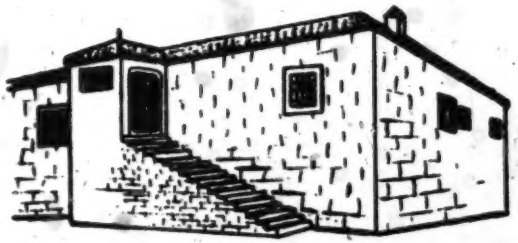

Fig. 53 Building with Stairway House

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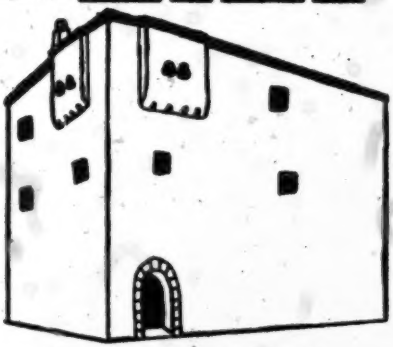

Fig. 54 Kula in Northern Albania

354

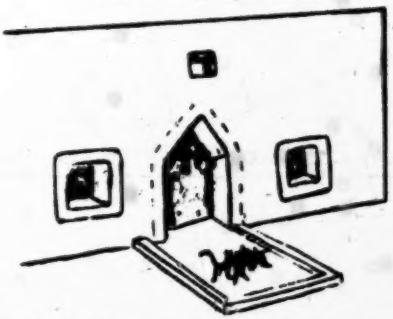

Fig. 55 Fireplace with Niches and Opening for Smoke

[P.86-M]